

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

Carter's world view

Every new American administration seeks to develop a "new" foreign policy. Hence it is inevitable that President Carter, too, should wish to imbue United States diplomacy with his own unique approach. His commencement speech at Notre Dame University did not break much new ground, however, or offer a compellingly new grand design. Rather did it sum up Mr. Carter's broad objectives and style.

Clearly Mr. Carter intends to be an activist President in foreign policy, especially in the area closest to his heart — human rights. Indeed we welcome this reassertion of American idealism. For too long Americans have battled with a sense that time, perhaps, was on the side of the forces of authoritarianism and that the best one could do was to reach an accommodation with them. Mr. Carter, to his credit, wants to turn this attitude around, to renew the American people's faith in the ability of their democratic ideals and purposes to influence events in the world. Certainly there can be no quarrel with his statement that policy must be based on "constant decency in its values" and on "optimism in its historical vision." Nor with his view that the United States must look beyond alliances rooted only in an "inordinate fear of communism." It is buoying to hear a president say that the nation's moral values are a force in themselves which can be utilized to shape the course of history.

As for the specific tenets which the President offers, these are little different from those enunciated by his predecessors. In this sense they show that there is a fundamental continuity and bipartisanship to foreign policy. They include such unassailable objectives as close cooperation with the industrial democracies, improved ties with the Soviet Union and China (based on a strong U.S. defense), help to the developing nations, and encour-

agement to all countries to submerge narrow interests in working together to solve global problems. In terms of specific policies, too, Mr. Carter is following in the logical footsteps of past presidents in such areas as limiting strategic nuclear weapons, curbing arms sales abroad, and seeking a Middle East peace.

It was on the latter subject, in fact, that the President delivered his most pointed remark. Regardless of the political changes in Israel, he said, the United States expects Israel and its neighbors "to continue to be bound by UN Resolutions 242 and 338" which call for Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab lands. In light of the hard-line statements to the contrary by Menachem Begin, leader of the victorious Likud bloc, this was a candid and courageous reaffirmation of American policy.

The unanswered question at Notre Dame, however, is how Mr. Carter intends to carry out his lofty objectives, how he will "respond to the new reality of a politically awakening world." It will be on the implementation more than on the enunciation of American foreign policy that the new administration will be judged. At the North-South conference in Paris at the end of the month, for instance, the world's poor countries will be waiting for those "constructive proposals" which Mr. Carter says he has prepared.

Needless to say, the President has not yet had time to follow through on his many ideas and goals. He is still feeling his way along in the complex and difficult arena of contending diplomatic interests. He has had some failures and some successes. But we count it all to the good that he has set the nation's sights high, called on the Soviet Union, too, to play a larger role in helping the developing world, and urged the democratic democracies to shape "a wider architecture of global cooperation."

Now the task is to build effectively on this framework.

The Prince and the President

The Middle East is very much in the forefront of Washington thinking at this time. American officials still are assessing the potential impact of the victory of the right-wing, hawkish Likud bloc headed by Menachem Begin in the recent elections in Israel. For his part, President Carter in his foreign policy speech at Notre Dame emphasized that U.S. Middle East policy will not be affected by changes of leadership in that area. He added pointedly that "this may be the most propitious time for a genuine settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict" and that "to let this opportunity slip could mean disaster."

Against this background, the current Washington visit of Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia and his discussions with Mr. Carter take on added significance. The Prince is the first high-ranking Arab to come to the United States since the Israeli hallooing, and he has arrived, moreover, fresh from a meeting with Egypt's President Sadat and Syria's President Assad where the positions of the three major Arab powers confronting Israel were certain to have been reviewed.

The Arabs, like the President, are anxious for action toward a Middle Eastern peace settlement as soon as possible. But both are confronted by the need to let the dust settle in Israel, at least for the moment, before proceeding with specific moves that will require Israeli participation.

Aside from peace and Middle East politics, the related subject of oil is certain to have a high priority, too. Saudi Arabia now is the largest outside source of oil for the United States, providing 1.5 million barrels a day. And last year the Saudis held out against OPEC proposals for a major oil price increase, a stand for which they pointedly demanded action on a Middle Eastern peace settlement. So if progress is not forthcoming as soon as they think it should, they have plenty of leverage to exert. Mr. Carter and Prince Fahd presumably are exploring the subject of oil prices very carefully.

Adding weight to their decisions is the fact that the U.S. is eager to build up a strategic oil

reserve — an objective which will be difficult to achieve without extra infusions of Saudi Arabian oil. The Saudis, meanwhile, are interested in acquiring late-model American fighter planes and advanced U.S. technology so Mr. Carter is not without negotiating cards.

From the Arab viewpoint, Mr. Carter's emphasis on a peace agreement, plus his comments on the Israeli-occupied Arab territories and the need for a Palestinian homeland, have encouraged belief that the present American leadership would put pressure on Israel to make concessions, despite the President's strong reaffirmations of U.S. support for Israel.

All in all, this is a challenging but appropriate moment for the visiting Saudis and American officials to be exchanging views. Each country has great need of the other, yet each also has other obligations and interests to consider. Sorting out the problems and exploring future possibilities should prove beneficial to both.

Another try for sea law pact

The choice, says the chief United States negotiator, is between order and anarchy. This was the way Elliot Richardson put it, referring to efforts by the UN Law of the Sea Conference of 156 nations to reach agreement. The problem: how to exploit and control the vast riches of minerals on the ocean floor and handle other pressing maritime issues.

Since 1973, the conference has been negotiating on such agreements, but the gulf between the positions of the richer, more developed, industrialized nations and their less affluent third-world colleagues has proved hard to bridge. Now, as sessions resume in New York, there is cautious optimism that a compromise might be worked out to satisfy both sides on the key problem of deep seabed mining.

At the heart of the deadlock is the contention of the developing nations that valuable undersea minerals — the nodules of potato size that sprinkle the ocean floor — are the common heritage of mankind. They therefore want this resource exploited by a proposed international authority's own arm, known as Enterprise. The

Another boost for Brezhnev?

No one yet dare interpret the meaning of the latest political developments in Moscow. The unexpected ouster of Nikolai Podgorny from the Politburo demonstrates again how little the outside world knows about the inner workings of communist societies. It is sobering to contemplate that the West, almost 25 years after Stalin, still deals with an adversary whose moves so elude easy understanding.

The speculation surrounding the Kremlin changes comes easily enough. They seem to be tied with the drafting of a new Soviet constitution to replace the old one introduced under Stalin in 1936. The new document possibly will eliminate the office of the presidency and establish some mechanism which would make Leonid Brezhnev not only head of the party but chief of state as well. Mr. Brezhnev has been promoting a new constitution for many years now and this would crown his life's work. But, the speculation goes, in order to get his way Mr. Brezhnev may have had to make way for

industrialized countries want to conduct their own mining operations, using private companies or state institutions. They have the money to do this, and some, like the United States, also have the essential technology.

Thus, a compromise, permitting a mixed mining system with both Enterprise and private or state firms probing the seabed, would seem a feasible solution. Care would have to be taken, of course, to ensure that Enterprise was not a sham. That means providing it with sufficient money and the know-how for operating. Fortunately, the U.S. already has taken the lead in showing willingness to finance a portion of Enterprise's initial cost.

What the delegates at New York will have to keep firmly in mind is that time and patience are running short. What the conference can and should provide is the desirable security of an international agreement that will protect all parties in the massive financial and technical effort that will be required. Each site, for example, may cost up to \$80 million for reaching and processing the nodules.

new power alignments and even, perhaps, to agree to depart the scene peacefully once the changes are in place. Certainly this is a major shake-up. Of special interest is the removal of Konstantin Kuznetsov from the post of party secretary responsible for relations with ruling communist parties. Mr. Katushev has been a dominant Soviet figure on the world scene in recent years, having organized the 1969 world communist summit and the more recent meeting in Berlin of European communists.

Will his removal signal greater Soviet restraints on Eastern Europe? Certainly the East European leaders are having troubles with internal dissent, among other things, which make the Russians nervous. Yet the process of tightening up Soviet-bloc institutions has already been going on as a counterpoise to détente. In fact Mr. Katushev's appointment two months ago to represent the Soviet Union in Comecon, the Eastern European economic grouping, could be important as moves toward closer economic integration and Comecon is expected to grow in influence, and the new Soviet constitution may help to cement in some way of the Soviet bloc as a European empire.

In any case, there are no signs that the recent shifts will mean a change in Soviet policy toward the West. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe a continuity of détente is crucial to the men in the Kremlin right now. At home, they face mounting economic difficulties. The Soviet Union is experiencing a declining rate of growth. It is not able to meet both its needs for defense and minimal requirements for consumers. Its chronic difficulties in the agriculture are dramatically highlighted in the current state forays into the villages to requisition potatoes from peasants and the production of 200,000 tons of potatoes from Poland.

The "fraternal" East European countries, meanwhile, are growing more dependent on Moscow, creating even more pressures on the Kremlin. The only way out, therefore, is to seek cuts in defense expenditures by reducing arms shipments to the West in SALT and arms trade, and economic cooperation.



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China and the U.S. — still not in complete harmony

U.S.-China relations: 'just friends'

Mr. Munro recently visited Washington, where he talked with U.S. Government officials regarding American policy toward the People's Republic of China.

By Ross H. Munro
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor
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Peking
The prospects for full diplomatic relations between the United States and China in the foreseeable future seem to be fading rapidly.

The main reason is that China has firmly rebuffed appeals for some sort of assurance that it will not invade Tai-

wan if the U.S. breaks diplomatic and military relations with the island.

In mid-May, the U.S. and China had what was in effect a public diplomatic dialogue on the normalization issue and, though little noticed, it demonstrated how far apart the two countries are.

On May 12, President Carter told a press conference that he favors normalization of diplomatic relations, but "the one obstacle — major obstacle, obviously — is the relationship we've always had with Taiwan."

"We don't want to see the Taiwanese people punished or attacked," Mr. Carter said, "and if we can resolve that

major difficulty, I would move expeditiously to normalizing relationships with China."

On May 15, Chinese Vice-Premier Chi Teng-kuei acknowledged that the U.S. has been asking for assurances that any take-over of Taiwan would be peaceful.

"We will not accept this..." the Vice-Premier declared. "To liberate Taiwan in a peaceful way or by armed force — this is China's domestic affair and not a U.S. affair."

Other Chinese officials have made similar statements during the past couple of months but never so strong. *Please turn to Page 21

Smith invades Mozambique: causes and consequences

By Geoffrey Godsell
Oversens news editor of The Christian Science Monitor

Rhodesia's incursion into Mozambique against guerrilla bases and holding of the town of Mapai, 50 miles across the border, are bound to have an effect on the current Anglo-American efforts to revive progress toward majority rule in Rhodesia by the end of next year.

The Anglo-American team visiting southern African capitals to advance these efforts was in Salisbury, Rhodesia, May 29, the day the Rhodesians crossed the Mozambique border and moved forward to seize Mapai. The next day, May 30, the team was in Maputo, capital of Mozambique. In neither capital was anything said to the team about the Rhodesian incursion — which was hardly surprising in Rhodesia but was odd in Mozambique.

Yet it is the reaction of President Machel of Mozambique and his fellow "front-line" presidents — those of Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Angola — which is likely to determine the immediate consequences of the Rhodesian action.

Both British Foreign Secretary David Owen and U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance were in Paris for the North-South conference. This facilitated communication between them, and they have been one in insisting on the gravity of the situation as the result of the Rhodesian action. UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, just back at UN headquarters from the Paris conference, has added his voice to the Anglo-U.S. concern.

Dr. Owen, despite the lateness of the hour in Paris on the night of May 31, said the Rhodesian move had gone far beyond "hot pursuit." It raised issues of the utmost seriousness challenging the territorial integrity of a UN member-state, he said, and could well "trigger off a serious military conflict in the area." The British Foreign Secretary was probably anxious to signal as soon as possible to President Machel and the other front-line presidents the depth of the Anglo-U.S. concern as an insurance against any over-hasty action on the presidents' part. The British Foreign Office confirmed that in addition to his public pronouncements, Dr. Owen had sent messages to Mr. Machel and the other presidents. *Please turn to Page 21

Which way for the one-man troika?

By Joseph C. Harach

Something obviously has been going on inside the ruling hierarchy of the Soviet Union, and the principal gainer certainly for the moment is Leonid Brezhnev. But far more interesting than the ups and downs of political personalities in the Kremlin is the question of what this means to the power position of the Soviet Union in the world.

Has Mr. Brezhnev pulled the rug out from under his old colleague and former friend, Nikolai Podgorny, only because Mr. Brezhnev enjoys so much being top man in Moscow that he wants to add Mr. Podgorny's job of President to his own more powerful job of general secretary of the Communist Party?

It seems improbable that Mr. Podgorny was dropped from the Politburo and will be deprived of his title of President only because Mr. Brezhnev wants another title to add to his string. He is already also a marshal of the Soviet Army. It is more plausible to assume that Mr. Podgorny had become the leader of whatever opposition existed inside the Kremlin to Brezhnev policies.

Therefore, what the rest of the world wants to know is the nature of the differences between the unofficial opposition which Mr. Podgorny headed and the official policies being pursued by Mr. Brezhnev.

No one outside the Kremlin can be sure about this matter. Actual outside knowledge begins and ends with the fact that Mr. Podgorny, near his mid-70s and enjoying excellent health, is out and Mr. Brezhnev, who has just entered his 70s but is supposedly in poor health, is stronger than ever. Mr. Brezhnev seems to be moving into something like the patriarchal plus semi-dictatorial role which Mao Tse-tung occupied in China at his later years of power. *Please turn to Page 21

'Nice day at the office, Benjamin?'

By Emilie T. Livezey
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Boston
If you want to know what makes U.S. office plants so green — it's money.

About five years ago, open office landscaping took a tremendous leap, and one offshoot of this green revolution is professional plant maintenance.

The John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company may be the supreme example so far. Its 60-story mirror tower in Boston has so many plants on the job — more than 3,500 — that it takes four people from 8:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. five days a week, not counting Saturday morning sprayings, just to keep them watered, fed, and looking fit.

John F. Ford, Boston regional administrator for Eric Jensen Greenhouses Ltd. of Toronto, Canada, says his firm's contract with Hancock represents the world's largest indoor plant installation used for the purpose of screening.

The one man and two women on his staff have to a rigid and complicated watering schedule to suit the needs of varying plant species. *Please turn to Page 21



Highlights



GOOD NEWS FOR DOLPHINS. Man-made models may save real dolphins from the nets of the tuna fishermen. Page 24

HORN OF AFRICA. The Monitor's African correspondent discusses what lies behind the tug-of-war going on between the West and the Arab world on one hand, and the Soviet Union and Ethiopia on the other. Page 12

TV: MORE THAN COMMUNICATION. TV's present form is only a transition stage on the way to something bigger, broader, and better — or perhaps worse, according to Jean d'Arcy, former chief of UN radio. Page 18

SOUND OF THE CONCORDE. In a house near New York's airport, a Monitor correspondent learns what it is like to live under the path of the SST's. Page 7

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FOCUS

007 school for chauffeurs

By Brad Knickerbocker

Sonoma, California
It's night and the lights of a limousine appear over the crest of a hill, then move steadily down the dark country road. The driver is a professional chauffeur and his boss is the smooth, comfortable ride that won't interfere with his reading, paper work, and important radio-telephone business calls.

Suddenly, another set of lights blazes on and a second car leaps out from a side road, pulling alongside the limousine in an attempt to force it off the road.

The chauffeur, realizing a possible kidnapping is at hand, tramps on the accelerator (Mr. Big's papers go flying) and a chase scene straight out of James Bond is under way. Spins, turns, squealing tires, flying gravel.

The scene, in fact, is not out of Hollywood but takes place regularly at a race-track north of San Francisco where an anti-kidnapping course for corporate chauffeurs is held.

Among the rolling hills

The course is run by Bob Bondurant as part of his School of High Performance Driving at the Sears Point International Raceway, in the rolling hills of northern California's grape country. Mr. Bondurant is a veteran racer who spent 14 years driving sports cars and grand prix autos on the

international racing circuit. He retired after an accident at Watkins Glen 10 years ago and started his school.

The Conference Board, a nonprofit business research organization, reports that 65 percent of all bombings in the United States last year were aimed at businesses. Company executives continue to receive personal threats from radical groups. Bank presidents, says E. Patrick McGuire of the Conference Board, "are the most likely executives to be kidnapped."

Corporations are understandably touchy about their security programs and specific measures against kidnapping and terrorism. Mr. Bondurant agreed to let a reporter spend a day with his chauffeurs' class only on the condition that drivers and their companies not be identified.

On to white knuckles

The whole point of the course, Mr. Bondurant explained, is to teach drivers of Lincolns, Mercedes-Benzes, and 22-foot-long Cadillacs how to drive as if it's Indianapolis or Monaco, with high stakes.

Each day of the four-day course begins with ground school on driving theory and techniques, the same principles taught to aspiring racing drivers. Then it's out to the track in heavy Detroit products (some drivers bring their company's limousine, most drive rented sedans) for hard charging and white knuckles.

"You're dealing with guys who've been taught to be easy on the car, to take care of the machinery," Mr. Bondurant said as he expertly wheeled his Datsun Z around a twisting maneuvers course. "You have to turn that around 180 degrees."

How to lock the brakes and skid 180 degrees around, then take off in the opposite direction to get away from a pursuer in fact is part of the course. There are also "precision maneuvers" through pylons, "emergency decisionmaking" to avoid an accident or evade a roadblock, and "panic stops."

Final exam at night

The chauffeurs are turned loose on the 2½-mile raceway, along with the would-be Dan Gurneys and Jackie Stewarts in their sports cars, to show what they've learned.

The "final exam" is an actual chase at night, with Mr. Bondurant as bad guy popping out of the weeds and the chauffeurs free to do anything (short of ramming) to get away. Most are finally cornered during the 15-minute ordeal (compared with two or three minutes for a real kidnapping pursuit, or so the FBI has told Mr. Bondurant), but some do manage to outfox their more experienced opponent.

Mr. Bondurant limits the \$1,000 course to three drivers at a time and has taught 80 chauffeurs from about 45 companies, including oil companies, paper manufacturers, publishers, and electronic firms. An international oil company approached him three years ago to start the course.

The CIA and FBI have been helpful in providing information on kidnappers and their techniques, he says, but so far have declined to swap secrets on driver training.

Insult an Englishman? Impossible, actually

By Gerald Priestland
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
Years ago there used to be a revue act in which a young lady in a party dress sang, peevishly, "I came here to be insulted and I'm not going home till I am..."

I remembered this a few days ago while I was skimming through an essay by the orientalist Francis Goulding. He records how a reverend mullah of Tehran once gave him a multiple, if covert, laugh by complaining that an English general had behaved insultingly, even obscenely, towards him by sitting at his table and conveying food to his mouth with his left hand. But, said the mullah, "I got my own back. I showed how I despised him by wagging the bare sole of my left foot at him!"

Francis Goulding gently points out the comedy of errors. The general had no idea his eating habits were obscene. Nor did he appreciate the meaning of the foot-wagging. And the mullah did not know that the general did not know; though the general, as a foreign visitor, had less excuse for ignorance.

It is, in fact, extremely difficult to insult an Englishman these days. It's not that we're too cowardly to hit back: we just seem to be hard put to it to recognize anything as insulting.

In the United States there is a code of honor covering treatment of the national flag — it mustn't be allowed to drag on the ground, to be flown lower than any other flag, or to be exploited commercially; and when dissident foreigners want to annoy the United States, they know there is no surer way than to burn Old Glory in the street and dance on the smoldering remains. But the British would probably yawn if anyone so treated the Union Jack; after all, it's used for fish-and-chip wrappings, shopping bags and dish towels — and worse. Ash-trays, for goodness sake!

Time was, barely a century ago, officers and gentlemen would demand satisfaction for insults; would horsewhip young puppets who spoke slightly of the crown. But one hasn't read or heard of a duel or even a horsewhipping for many a long year. One can imagine some latter day gentleman just managing to yodel himself to protest: "If I had a whip, I'd horsewhip you. If I had a horse..." but nothing would actually be done, and if it were



the courts would dutifully punish the horsewhipper for assault.

How could you insult an Englishman? He's so broad-minded, so accustomed to being told he's wrong, that anything you snarled at him relating to his appearance or parentage would probably draw the response: "Actually, you're probably right. I'm over so sorry."

In continental Europe, on the other hand, and especially round the Mediterranean, the insult is a fine art. There is, on my shelves, a useful Dictionary of Insults in several languages.

But wait! Isn't this thoroughly unkind, un-Christian, not at all to be encouraged? Should we not sail serenely through life, ignoring those provocative Italianate gestures, that inflammatory Spanish style of overtaking on the road, that apical sneer the French put on when replying to anyone whose accent is not 100 percent Parisian?

Well, yes. But, you're absolutely right in

principle, and I do know people whose lips appear to be entirely unpassioned by insults, come what may. I do wish that just occasionally they would allow a little acid to creep into their personalities, cutting through the saccharine.

All of us have to let off steam somehow. If we don't steam at all, there can't be much warmth in there. And it is much better, surely, for the blow-off to be verbal than physical. Ah, comes the response, better: neither: for a really stinging insult is almost as likely to bring counter-violence as a physical blow. Maybe.

Oh, all right; we know perfectly well that we shouldn't insult each other. It's just that, in our imperfect moments, it would be nice to have some secret, painless insult available for use. Like eating with one's left hand, or wagging the sole of one's foot.

Gerald Priestland is on the staff of the BBC.

Margo Macdonald:

Darling of the Scottish Nationalist Party

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Dundee, Scotland
Margo Macdonald walked up the aisle of the nearly deserted conference hall, peeling and eating a banana. For once, the plump, vivacious, golden-haired senior vice-chairman of the Scottish National Party (SNP) was alone. She had had a long, tiring day at her party's annual conference, and another night of politicking awaited her.

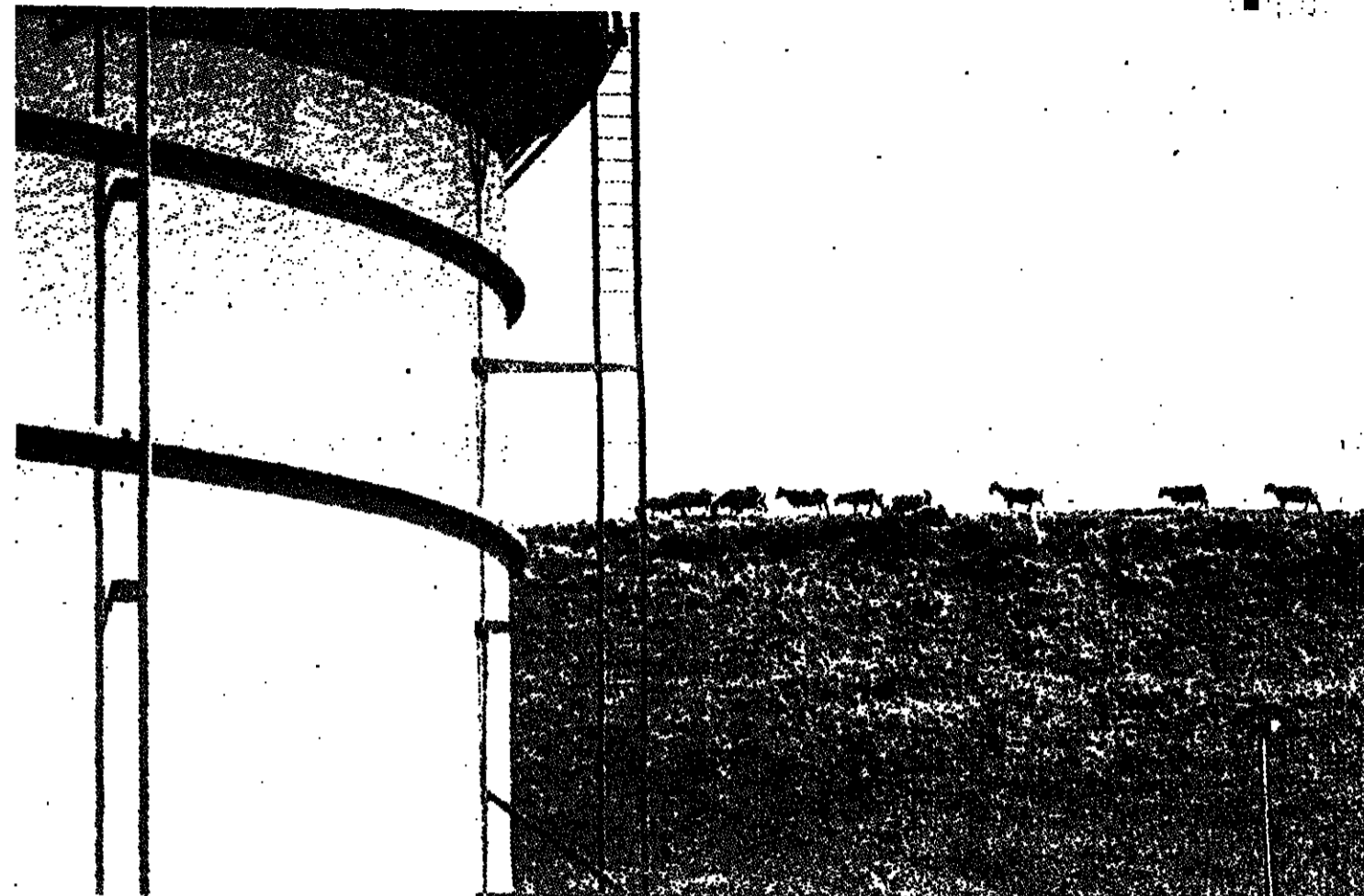
A journalist hastened after her, eager to monopolize the few minutes it took to walk out of the hall and into the buffet-bar. Didn't she think the party was running quite a political risk in coming out so publicly and so strongly for Scottish independence at this time? Wouldn't this diminish its chances of winning a majority of Scotland's 71 seats in the House of Commons in the next general election?

Mrs. Macdonald dropped her banana skin into a plastic receptacle, flashed a smile at the cleaning woman beside it, frowned, then answered, "No. It makes it easier for us to fight, because the choice is more clear-cut: independence, or the status quo."

Power wielder

After all, she recalled, independence had always been the party's goal. Devolution — a measure of self-government — was no longer a realistic choice because the Labour government could not deliver its own English backbenchers. She threw back her head, shook her cascading blonde locks and chuckled, as if relishing the thought of a campaign which would so explicitly feature a cause to which she has singlemindedly devoted her political life.

Margo Macdonald is the "Pasionaria" of Scottish politics. The mother of four children, she is still in her early 30s. She wields more power than most of the party's 11 members of Parliament, who must perform spend the ma-



Tank serving North Sea oil at Hound Point Terminal

Oil: hope of independence for Scots, inconvenience for sheep

For a chunk of their political lives at Westminster, Her position was confirmed at the party conference (May 28 to 29) when she was overwhelmingly re-elected senior vice-chairman in the teeth of challenges from a couple of well-known MPs. The 2,000 delegates' decision was plain: Let MPs represent the SNP at Westminster. Party policy would continue to be made at headquarters in Edinburgh.

Claim on oil

She insists she is not anti-English. She is uncompromising in her assertion that North Sea oil in waters north of England proper belongs to Scotland. But she knows that a post-independence Scotland will have to get along with its powerful neighbor to the south — politically as well as economically.

In her own party many are more cautious than she is. Donald Stewart, the parliamentary

leader, says the SNP will support a new devolution bill if the Labour government comes up with an acceptable replacement for the one its rebellious backbenchers killed earlier this year. A parliamentary candidate for a largely working class seat says that when the next general election rolls around, the state of the economy, not independence, will still be the voters' doorstep issue.

Master strategist

In an Edinburgh hotel, a young telex operator who voted for the SNP two years ago says that next time she will choose the Conservatives. "Things are too serious for me to vote for the SNP," she said. (The Conservatives, under Margaret Thatcher have all but repudiated their commitment to devolution and emphasize, instead, the importance of the United Kingdom remaining united.)

But Mrs. Macdonald is unmoved by the prudence of her colleagues, or by earlier polls which showed that less than a quarter of the Scottish electorate wanted independence, although more than half favored a degree of devolution.

Her colleagues acknowledge her to be a master political strategist, an accomplished manipulator of the mass media. "La Pasionaria" she may be, but not without a saving sense of humor. In her opening speech to the conference, she asked delegates for the "confidence to have a wee smile at ourselves and a rollicking great laugh at the antics of our opponents."

There is a lift in her throaty voice and a sparkle in her eyes, and if the SNP is the party of the young, Margo is unmistakably their darling.

Nuclear energy for peace okay, say Schmidt and Tito

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Yugoslavia's leader Josip Broz Tito say they are in complete agreement that all countries must have the right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

After two days of talks in Belgrade the two leaders released a statement May 30 emphasizing that neither of their countries has an atomic bomb nor wants an atomic bomb.

Mr. Schmidt's decision to accept this position with President Tito — just two weeks before the opening in Belgrade of the follow-up conference to the 1975 Helsinki summit on European security and cooperation — cannot be taken as anything but moral support for Yugoslavia. That communist state, which also is a leader of the so-called nonaligned countries, has a contract with the American firm Westinghouse to build a nuclear plant at Krsko near the border between the republics of Croatia and Slovenia.

The Ford administration's insistence on further safeguards against nuclear proliferation

halted construction of the plant six months ago. The ban on export licenses for two generators and other high-technology equipment was lifted right after the recent visit to Yugoslavia by Vice-President Walter Mondale.

But the supply of enriched uranium for the plant — presumably from the United States — has not been guaranteed as yet, nor has the problem of reprocessing of spent fuel been settled.

West Germany has a contract to sell eight nuclear-power plants to Brazil, plus fuel-enrichment and reprocessing facilities, a deal

that has come under fire from Mr. Carter. But the American President recently stopped his criticism and agreed to have a more detailed look at the complicated question, which involves the danger of nuclear-weapons proliferation.

In Bonn a spokesman for Mr. Schmidt said the Chancellor's position is that despite many other differences between Brazil and Yugoslavia, these two countries are in a similar economic position. That is, they both are somewhere between a developing and an industrialized stage, and they both need to build up their energy supply.

French Socialist wants to go calling on Carter

By Jim Browning
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Paris
French Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterrand, the man most likely to be prime minister under a government of the Left, is planning a trip to the United States, and he would like to meet President Carter.

But with French elections now scheduled for next March, and with some politicians predicting that they could be held sooner, the French President, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, is widely reported to have asked Mr. Carter not to see the Socialist leader.

Socialist Party officials confirm that there could be some "technical or even political" obstacles to a meeting between Mr. Mitterrand and Mr. Carter.

Communists curbed

The problem facing the American President is one that will continue until the election is held here. The Carter administration has been improving relations with French Communists

in an effort to prepare for a possible victory of the leftist coalition. With the Left still strongly favored in the opinion polls, both the American President and the French Socialist leader would like to meet each other.

But earlier this year, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing acknowledged that he had privately told Secretary of State Cyrus Vance that, although American diplomats were welcome to see whomsoever they wished, the United States should not interfere in the internal relations of France. The French President was clearly annoyed at American contacts with the Left.

An additional problem is that Mr. Mitterrand has been invited to the United States by a close ally of Mr. Carter's, Leonard Woodcock, the former president of the United Automobile Workers Union, who has just been named the new head of the American Mission in China.

Although increasingly critical of the pervasive influence of American-controlled multinational companies, the French Socialist leader has repeatedly stressed his personal affection for

the United States. He has a number of friends in the academic community.

Perhaps more important, if the Left comes to power in France, Mr. Mitterrand could be expected to be more open to continued close cooperation with the United States than would be his Communist allies. Mr. Carter would presumably like to avoid offending him.

The head of the Socialist Party's international department, Robert Potillon, has just finished a preparatory visit to the U.S., where he met Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's national security advisor, as well as State Department officials and leaders of the trade unions.

The last time Mr. Mitterrand was in Washington, in 1975, he met Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, but was not received by President Ford. This time, Socialist Party officials are being extremely diplomatic. "The details of Mr. Mitterrand's trip have not yet been arranged, according to one Socialist official. He added: "If Mr. Carter would like to see Mr. Mitterrand, I'm sure there would be a reciprocal desire."

Europe

Europe

East Germany brushes up its image

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn
East Germany's just disclosed proposals for improving relations with the United States are in part a propaganda play aimed at brushing up the Communist country's image in preparation for the Belgrade review conference on European security and cooperation, U.S. analysts in Bonn say.

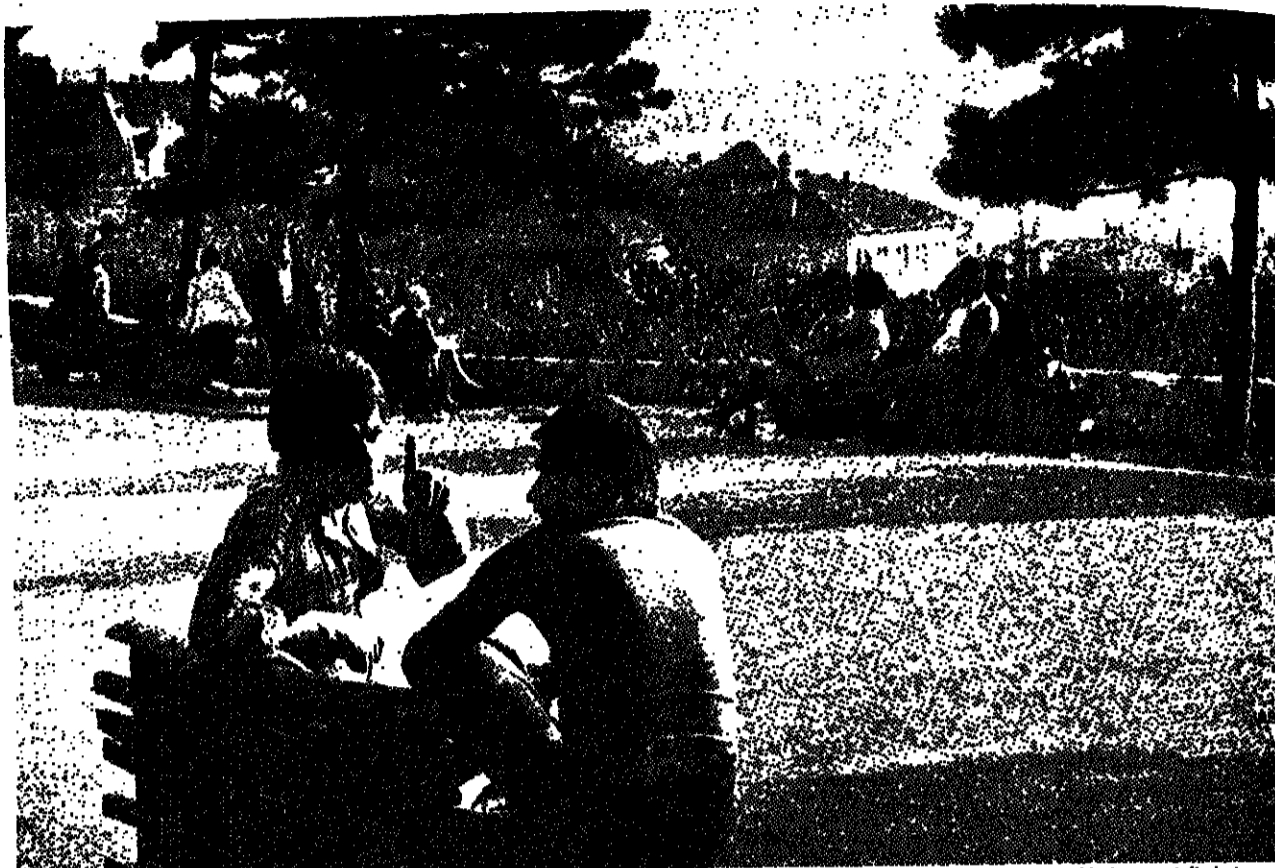
The conference, opening in the Yugoslav capital June 15, is to review how the 1975 Helsinki summit declaration on East-West détente is being applied. The United States in particular is expected to press for compliance by the Communist states of Eastern Europe with the declaration's provisions on human rights.

Sources in Bonn and East Berlin say the East German proposals to the U.S. are merely a compilation of subjects that have been discussed by diplomats from both countries over the past two years. Now the East Germans are suggesting that the package as a whole be discussed with the United States.

[U.S. State Department spokesman Hodding Cartor III said the United States was studying the proposals and it was probable formal talks between the two governments would be established to consider the East German offer and U.S. demands. The spokesman described the offer as "a major step in accommodating our desires for improvement in humanitarian issues."]

The proposals include more intensive talks between the two governments at all levels; high-level exchange visits, including congressmen from the United States; agreements on mail, shipping, visas, and travel and working conditions for journalists.

East Germany says it is willing to settle all outstanding emigration applications from East Germans who want to go to the United States. A spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in East Berlin notes that in fact over the last 2½ years, 50 cases have



Low-level discussion in Belgrade's city park

By R. Norman Matherly, staff photographer

Representatives of 35 countries will be in Belgrade later this month, examining East-West détente

been settled and these 50 constitute two-thirds of all active applications. According to the spokesman the pace of settling the applications has not changed. "They [the East Germans] are not dragging their feet, they are not rushing either," he said.

The East Germans also have proposed a resumption of negotiations on a consular agreement. Talks on this subject have been going on for some time but are held up on two points. One is that East Germany, unlike other East European countries, has not been willing to make restitution to U.S. citizens

who lost property during World War II in the territory now governed by the East German regime.

The other sticking point is the question of nationality. The United States has not been willing to grant in a consular agreement a full-fledged East German citizenship, out of solidarity with the West German position that there is only one German citizenship. This issue is not likely to be resolved readily since it gets to the most fundamental questions still pending on the whole German situation.

Britain's man in Ulster 'won't be pushed around'

By Al McCreary
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Belfast
"I hope it is clearly understood that neither the community nor I will be pushed around," said Mr. Roy Mason, the British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, at the height of the recent Loyalist Action Council strike in Ulster.

The strikers who tried to pressure the British to adopt a more heavy-handed security policy and to allow the local Stormont Parliament to return on Loyalist's terms, found that neither Mr. Mason nor the bulk of the Ulster people would be "pushed around." The strike failed. Northern Ireland passed by a dangerous turning that could have led to a break with Britain, and Roy Mason emerged with considerably increased stature.

Mr. Mason had shown to all-comers in Ul-

ster, and to MPs of every party in Westminster, the degree of iron in his make-up. He is a tough little Yorkshire ex-miner with a reputation for honesty and blunt speaking. In a Province that badly needs some firm direction from the top, he has emerged as the right man in the right place at the right time — though

Profile

this view would be disputed by the paramilitaries at both extremes who have much to fear from the smack of firm Government. (Already the Royal Ulster Constabulary has built up an impressive dossier and the new Army chief reportedly taking over in the fall, Major General Timothy Creasey, is an expert in counter-insurgency measures.)

Roy Mason's political honesty is emphasized by both friends and foes. To some local politi-

cians his directness is a refreshing change from the heart-searchings of his predecessor, Mr. Merlyn Rees. One moderate Ulster politician said "Mason has none of the Hamlet-type qualms of Merlyn, 'to be or not to be.' Roy is direct."

Others, however, question his ability to be an effective politician in a Province where great subtlety is needed to bring together entrenched political parties, particularly after a local government election which showed gains for both moderates and hard-liners.

Mason's Yorkshire background gives him an affinity with the Ulster people — he shares the Ulsterman's directness. As a boy in a mining community he lived through the "Hungry '30's" and he knows how unemployment can demoralize a society like Northern Ireland's where the current rate is nearly 11 percent. As an examiner who had to survive the hard way, he can talk to working people in their language. During the crucial strike negotiations with electricity workers who literally held the key to power, one of them formed the opinion that Mr. Mason would make a "good shop steward" (union leader).

At 14, Roy Mason left school and went down the coal mines as a mechanic's bag-carrier. He worked in the pits for 14 years until he was elected Labour MP for Barnsley, a seat he has held since 1953. His mother died at 48, and his father — also a miner — was crippled in a pit accident. In those days before the British National Health Service, the family could not afford hospitalization for his mother. Mason has never forgotten those days.

His career is the classic story of the local boy making good. While in the mines he studied to be an engineer but with a young family to support he could not afford to take the time for extra study.

Some time later, however, he won a scholarship to the London School of Economics and earned his spurs in the local trade union movement in Yorkshire. He had all the right qualifications when the Barnsley seat became vacant and despite his comparative youth he was elected to Parliament at 28.

His political career has been distinguished by hard work rather than brilliance. He has held four Cabinet posts in Labour Government: ranging from trade to defense. He



By Sven Simon

Plain-speaking Roy Mason

claims that he is not ambitious, but he did allow his name to go forward in the leadership stakes when Sir Harold Wilson retired as Prime Minister, though his name was dropped in the early stages. People generally do not test the water unless they are contemplating a plunge at some stage.

Roy Mason can be affable and friendly, though he knows when to say little or nothing. He dresses nattily, designing his own ties and some suits. He has an abiding love for brass bands — few Yorkshire miners or ex-miners do not — and he has sung in the church choir and played drums in a dance band.

He has no pretensions to be an "intellectual" in the accepted sense of that term, but any man who has held down four Cabinet posts cannot rely on hard work and good fortune alone.

Provided the Labour Government stays in power — and its political life looks tenuous — Roy Mason will face other major battles in the future. So far he has been proved in the heat of crisis and has won the confidence of many ordinary people in Ulster in a way his predecessors did not.

The big question is whether he will be astute enough to survive in the minefield that is Northern Ireland politics. His motto in political life is "Never bear malice and never harbour a grudge."

It is a fact that he may well need to keep polished in the weeks to come.

U.S. irritates the Swiss

By Lyn Shepard
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Bern
Twice within a month President Carter has taken steps viewed critically here as ungracious pokes at the "Swiss porcupine."

On his recent trip to Geneva for talks with President Hafez al-Assad of Syria, the American President was seen as having given his Swiss hosts the brush-off in his desire to start the private Middle East talks on time. Mr. Carter reserved only 10 minutes for a chat with Switzerland's President and Justice Minister, Kurt Furgler, and Foreign Minister Pierre Graber.

Now observers are asking how the naming of an ambassador who is considered by critics unqualified for the job will affect Swiss-American ties.

The American Foreign Service Association (AFSA), which represents the State Department's career diplomats, says it will actively oppose the nominee, Ohio businessman Marvin Warner, in Senate hearings.

The association claims Mr. Warner was appointed as a reward for the political and finan-

cial support he gave Mr. Carter during his campaign for president.

"Political ambassadors" from the United States are the rule here, career diplomats the exception. And Mr. Warner would be hard pressed to outdo a recent Republican ambassador in shocking the Swiss by his ignorance of this country. That envoy got off to a shaky start by telling press interviewers that Romania was a Swiss national language.

The choice of Mr. Warner might have passed without comment if Mr. Carter himself had not stressed his contempt for "political ambassadors" during his election campaign.

The AFSA did not single out Mr. Warner alone. It says it also will oppose two other "political" nominees — Milton Wolf, President Carter's choice as Ambassador to Austria, and Sally Shelton, tipped as Ambassador to El Salvador.

As for Mr. Warner, some observers think he might prove an able envoy, but the Foreign Service officers expect

in a stable, middle-of-the-road country like Switzerland, they say, an astute businessman might be quicker at understanding the local people than a State Department career man.

Advertisement

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"A Very Special Relationship"

SAUDI ARABIA EXTENDS ITS GREETINGS TO THE UNITED STATES on the occasion of the opening of discussions today between President Carter and — on behalf of His Majesty King Khalid — HRH Crown Prince Fahd. Accompanying the Crown Prince for meetings with the President, members of the Congress and Cabinet, and a number of other Americans are the Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister, HRH Prince Saud al-Faisal; Petroleum Minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani; Finance Minister Mohammed Abu al-Khail; the Minister of Industry & Electricity, Dr. Ghazi Algosoubi; and other high Saudi officials.

• Saudi Arabia and the United States share a special relationship — and responsibility — to help facilitate the reaching of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East, including the return of occupied Arab lands and holy places, and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people — and by finally achieving this, to greatly increase the future stability of that critical, crossroads region of the world.

• Saudi Arabia and the United States share a special relationship — and responsibility — to help ensure just and reasonable oil prices — fair to both the consuming and producing countries, to encourage conservation of petroleum for all our descendants, and to help develop additional sources of energy to augment the world's depleting oil and gas resources.

• Saudi Arabia and the United States share a special relationship — and responsibility — to help invigorate the international economy, restrain global inflation, and bring together the developing and developed nations for the benefit of themselves and the entire global community.

• Saudi Arabia and the United States share a special relationship — and responsibility — to broaden and deepen their own remarkable working partnership solidified over the course of the last forty years and more, for the benefit of both their economies, the well-being of their peoples, the future of private enterprise in the world economy and the strategic security of the non-communist coalition of nations.

✓ With a fourth of the world's proven oil reserves, Saudi Arabia is now providing the United States with a million and a half barrels of oil a day — almost double the amount of only a year earlier. Last year Saudi Arabia replaced Canada and Venezuela in the position they had held since the 1930s as the largest outside source of oil for America. (Arab and Gulf sources now furnish nearly 45% of all U.S. oil imports — or a fifth of all oil used by Americans.)

✓ The United States in turn last year sold about 4 billion dollars worth of goods and services to Saudi Arabia; and a Wall Street Journal report this spring found American firms received contracts to furnish another 27 billion dollars worth over the years ahead. (U.S. trade with all the Arab countries has risen from less than a billion dollars a year at the start of the 1970s, to over 7 billion just in 1976 — and is expected to top 10 billion annually within the next two years.) Saudi Arabia alone is engaged in a 142-billion dollar economic and social development program in this half decade, with intense world-wide competition for the

work. The Kingdom's development plans for the 1980s are even greater, all in keeping with its deep held Islamic faith and family-centered traditions.

✓ At the workaday level in both America and Saudi Arabia, millions of jobs are sustained by this flow of oil and the huge developmental contracts. Homes and offices are heated and cooled, cars and trucks run, and modern life enriched. Along with all the breadwinners involved, many more millions of family members, grocers, service people, doctors, and local business men are taking part, directly or indirectly, in this very special relationship between the two nations.

✓ U.S. business in Saudi Arabia is not limited to large firms, though more than a dozen are now each doing business with the Kingdom at the billion dollar rate. More typical are the smaller architectural, contractor and other firms in St. Louis, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, Houston, Birmingham, San Francisco and other cities who are working on Saudi schools, housing, and much else, both towels

from North Carolina; bank beds and banking from New York; compressors from Pennsylvania; cranes from Ohio and Minnesota; concrete building modules from a Florida firm with 35 employees; farm produce from a number of states; breadsilver parts and much else from Maryland — and on and on, big and little.

✓ Over 7,000 Saudi students are studying at U.S. colleges this year, all at Saudi expense. American and Saudi universities are working together on a broad range of projects, academic and applied, with Saudi Arabia emphasizing solar-powered stoves, water pumps, heating systems and other applications, as just one example. The long-term mutual benefits of close cooperation are suggested by the fact that all four of the Ministers accompanying Crown Prince Fahd on his present trip to the United States did advanced study in America — at Princeton, N.J.U., Harvard Law School and the University of Southern California. The Saudi-U.S. relationship reaches far in time and the world.



King Khalid
Ibn Abdulaziz al-Saud



Crown Prince Fahd
Ibn Abdulaziz al-Saud

Royal Embassy
of
Saudi Arabia

Washington, D.C.

Soviet Union

Soviet birthday party: some gifts and some burst balloons

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
The Soviet Union is throwing its own 80th birthday party this year with a spectacular list of "gifts" to itself. They include a new Constitution, a new chief of state, a new national anthem — even a new world view.

The view, as enunciated by Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev, is that the communist world now is so big and strong that the former encirclement by capitalist powers no longer exists. But beneath the facade, the galaxy is marred by a number of what might be called "gate-crashers" that refuse to go away.

They include disappointment with President Carter (underscored by Mr. Brezhnev on French television late May 29, and in Pravda the same day), enmity with Mao Tse-tung's heirs in China, the political swing to the right in Israel, criticism from Somalia, rebellion in Angola — and what seem to the Kremlin ominous moves in NATO countries and middle Asia.

Also marring the celebrations: shortages of meat and potatoes at home and the necessity, as the Kremlin sees it, to keep cracking down on internal dissent.

Summary mixed

The picture adds up to a Soviet Union proud of its undoubted military and economic accomplishments and of its role as leader of the communist world, but sensitive and often defensive about problems that remain.

Its irritation with the West, despite Mr. Brezhnev's confidence that the capitalist ring is broken, is intense just now. In part this is because of the London summit of free world leaders and partly because of U.S. insistence that NATO members raise military spending by 3 percent in the coming year.

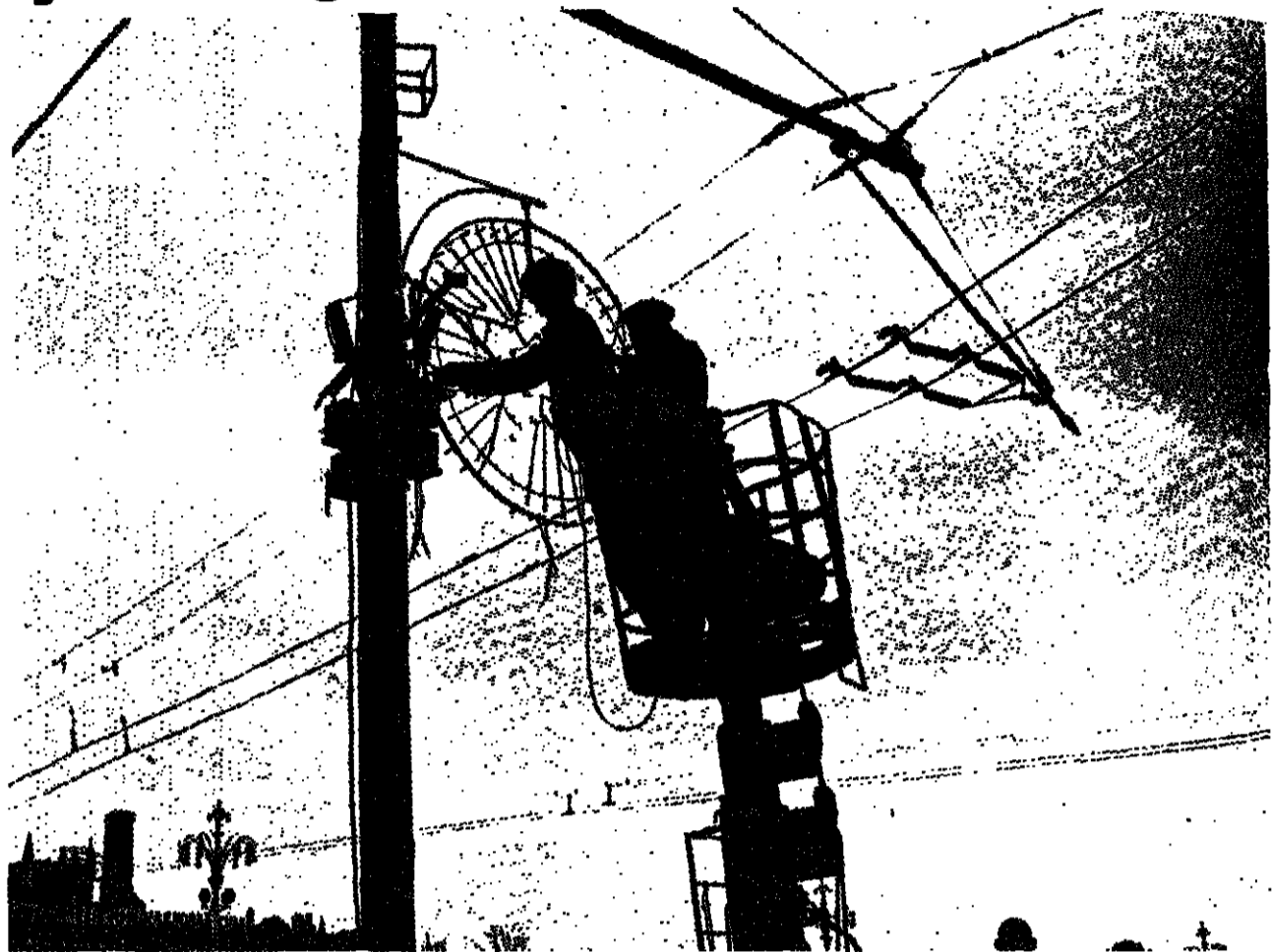
Mr. Brezhnev took advantage of his French TV appearance to say Soviet concern about the arms race had grown because of Mr. Carter's attitude so far. Despite some progress in Geneva, "no serious forward movement" had been achieved so far on strategic arms. This appeared a more negative view than Moscow had previously taken since Geneva.

The most headline-catching event here recently was the first top Kremlin shift in the post-Khrushchev era and the certainty of more to come.

The favorite theory of Western analysts, buttressed by information from Soviet commentator Victor Louis, is that the ouster of chief of state Nikolai Podgorny from the ruling Politburo was connected with changes in the new Constitution.

The changes are seen as the work of a dominant Mr. Brezhnev maneuvering to use his power to dictate who will succeed him, and who will write his record into the history books.

It is widely thought that Mr. Brezhnev himself will become chief of state later this year, perhaps at an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet to be convened in October. News of the session was released by the Presidium of the Supreme So-



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Electricians in Moscow wire up street decorations

viet May 27, in a statement that failed to refer even once to the man who has chaired the Presidium for the past 12 years, Mr. Podgorny.

The new national anthem will be cleansed of references to Stalin. Since Stalin fell from favor in 1956, the words of the anthem have not been sung. New words, to a newly arranged melody, will be made public Sept. 1.

The Constitution, as indicated by Mr. Brezhnev in a report to the Communist Party Central Committee, reflects the growth of the Soviet state and its allies since 1936. This growth required new sections on enriching the rights of Soviet citizens, as well as defining their duties. New sections on defense and foreign policy are to be added.

Meanwhile, the Communist Party paper Pravda emphasized

May 29 how unhappy the Kremlin remains with President Carter, despite some progress toward a new strategic arms agreement at the May 18-20 talks in Geneva.

Efforts to boost NATO spending and revive the CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) alliance of the United States, Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran were deplored in Pravda's weekly world review column.

The Soviet press has become increasingly hostile to the Israeli Likud bloc as a barrier to Mideast peace efforts (and Arab rights). It omits Somali criticism of Soviet aid to Ethiopia. It fails to mention the depth of the ancient Somali-Ethiopian feud. The Kremlin has formalized its enmity to Mao's successors in China in a government protest note accusing them of threatening world peace.

Meanwhile, reports persist of potato and meat shortages inside Soviet cities. Preparations continue for trials of dissidents arrested in February and March — even as Soviet criticism of human rights violations in the U.S. and Europe grows louder.

Private enterprise: the melodrama lingers on

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science
Monitor

Moscow
The Case of the Pining Potatoes. ... The Case of the Overzealous Policemen. ... The Case of the Garrisoned Garlic. ...

They sound like a collection of old-fashioned melodramas. Instead they are three examples of wrong behavior being cited by the Communist Party to try to solve urgent food shortages in the Soviet Union.

Case 1, as presented in Pravda, the Communist Party daily, May 31: A farmer not far from Moscow had 1,100 pounds of excess potatoes to sell to the state. But, although people are short of potatoes in many areas, red tape kept blocking his way.

Pickup moved

The day for the pickup was changed. The pickup point was moved to a place 15 miles away. No transportation was provided. He had to wait all night for the point to open. Only one laborer turned up to unload bags from a long line of farmers.

Finally he sold his po-

tatoes, but he wants to know how the process can be made easier.

Case 2: Police keep stopping farmers from selling at private markets. Some farmers wrote to Pravda in protest. In one case produce was seized. It was returned two days later — without apology. Not good enough, Pravda warns. Most farmers are honest and would not dream of speculating, it says (with nary a mention of previous

complaints against speculators).

Case 3: A gardener selling his own garlic was hauled off to the local police station; the next day a speculator, charging three times as much, was left untouched at the same market.

In some areas of the Soviet Union, notably the Baltic republics and the Ukraine, tiny private plots produce as much as one-third of all vegetables, milk, and meat turned

out. When food is short, this kind of private enterprise is praised. So it is now.

Pravda urges that such enterprise be developed and rewarded, no less. Market selling should be made easier, not harder, it says.

Let's face it, Pravda says: The markets sell better-quality potatoes than the regular state stores.

Private enterprise lives — a melodrama all its own.

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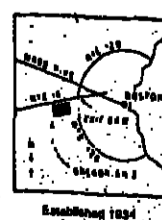
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United States

Navy and Congress debate aircraft carriers:

Big and nuclear or small and economic

By John Dillon

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
America's aircraft-carrier building program for the 1980s is caught in a withering cross fire between the White House and a powerful committee on Capitol Hill.

While President Carter plumps for smaller, cheaper, oil-burning carriers, nuclear advocates in Congress are fighting to preserve the huge, atom-powered carriers that are the pride of the Navy.

Confusion reigns. Navy officials say they need design money for a new carrier no later than June or the nation's carrier-building program could be set back an entire year.

But at this moment, future carrier construction could evolve in any of three, or possibly four, directions. Among the options being debated:

- Another nuclear carrier. The House Armed Services Committee wants at least one more of these 93,400-ton floating airfields, at a cost of over \$2 billion.

- Mid-sized, oil-burning carriers. Mr. Carter favors scaling down future carriers to about 65,000 tons, and powering them with cheaper, oil-fired engines. Pentagon analysts insist that would cut future carrier costs nearly in half.

- A compromise. Build one more nuclear-powered carrier, plus renovate an older, oil-burning carrier. This might satisfy everyone — or no one.

- Mini-carriers. Equipped with vertical takeoff fighters, 20,000-ton carriers could be built at a fraction of the cost of others. The Senate is interested in this option.

House and Senate conferees will wrestle with these options this month.

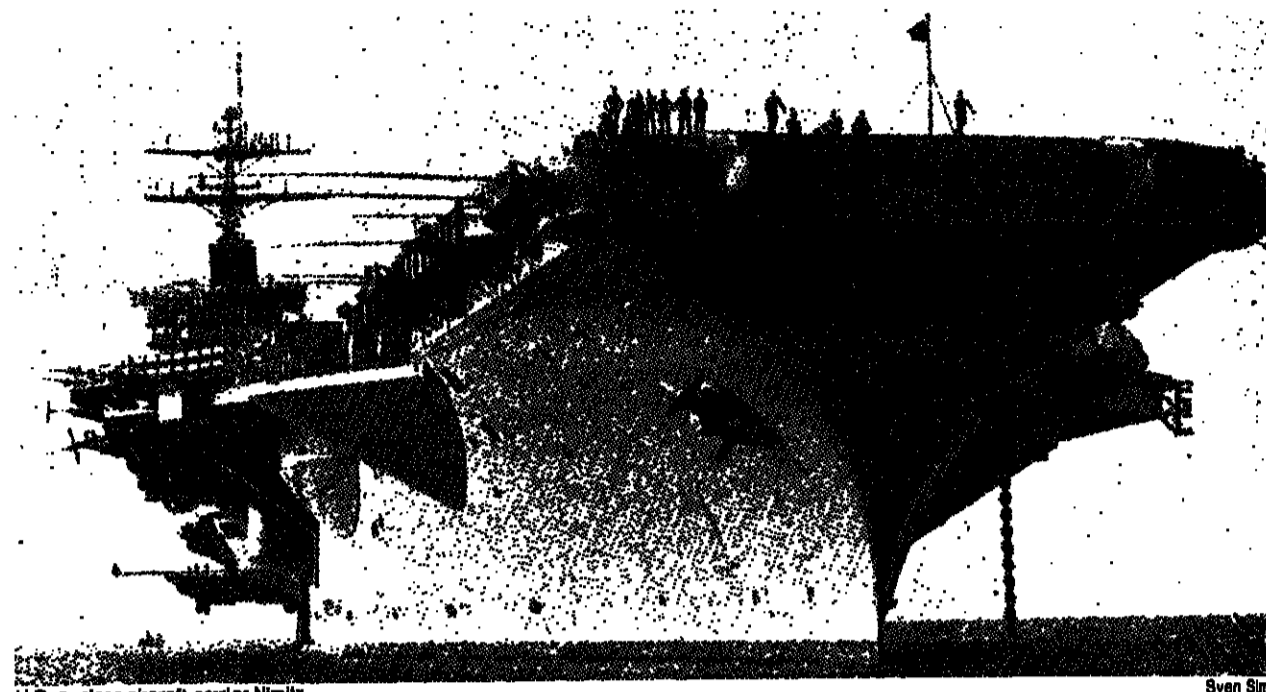
Behind the arguments on all sides are new strategic considerations prompted by the expanding, Soviet blue-water Navy.

Foremost threat from the Soviet Navy is its air arm. Long-range fighter-bombers like the MiG-23, and new long-range bombers like the Backfire pose a "major threat" to U.S. shipping, according to the Defense Department.

This Soviet air threat is supplemented by a growing force of Soviet surface ships equipped with missiles, and 188 attack submarines, of which 36 are nuclear-powered.

Simultaneously, the U.S. Navy fleet has shrunk from about 600 ships a decade ago to only 476 ships today.

Control of the seas is absolutely vital if war should break out in Europe, Pentagon planners say. One Defense Department study of future needs concluded:



U.S. nuclear aircraft carrier Nimitz

Even Simon

Carter seeks cheaper, oil-burning carriers but Congress may prefer a nuclear one like this

"U.S. overseas military forces cannot be sustained in combat without effective use of the seas. . . . There can be no valid strategy involving the use of U.S. land and air forces overseas that does not assume control of the sea will be established and maintained."

Backing this up, the study notes that of the 43 nations with which the U.S. has defense treaties, 41 lie overseas.

What, then, to do?

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown says the answer is clear: Build more ships, build cheaper ships. Only in that way can the U.S. Navy get enough ships to spread across the seas where they can escort convoys, attack submarines, and counter the air threat.

Big, nuclear carriers are extremely powerful and useful. But under current plans, the U.S. will have four of these by the mid-1980s — enough for its needs, Secretary Brown says.

The mid-sized carriers would be a bridge between present and future needs, the secretary says. They can handle today's Navy aircraft, and will also be ideal of the 1990s, when the Navy hopes to use larger numbers of vertical takeoff planes.

However, many members of the House disagree, including Rep. Samuel S. Stratton (D) of New York, who calls it "idle talk" to build oil-fired carriers at a time when the world is running low on oil.

Mr. Stratton and others are highly impressed by the nuclear carrier's ability to go around the world without refueling, to stay on its battle stations longer without the need of support ships like oilers.

Pentagon officials agree that this is important, at times, in "power projection" ashore — which was once the carriers' prime duty, as in Vietnam. Today, however, they argue that the great need is for sea control, and this requires more ships, which can be in more places at once.

America's gift: play buses for Ulster's children

By David Anable

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

The double-decker bus comes for little red-headed Maura every Tuesday afternoon.

But this is no ordinary bus. It is a child's dream, brightly painted with Mickey Mouse, Pinocchio, Pluto, the Flintstones, and a dozen other favorites.

And when the pink-cheeked preschooler climbs aboard, it is not to take a tuppenny ride from her New Lodge home to another of Belfast's sectarian communities.

Instead it is to have four hours of unworried, unhurried fun and games with 24 other small friends — washing dolls in sudsy water, digging in the sandpile, painting, drawing, cutting, gluing, reading, dressing up in old clothes, or singing songs and listening to books over jukebox, or simply being hugged and comforted by the bus's "volunteers."

For this is one of Northern Ireland's "play buses." Today seven of these ply the often dirty and occasionally dangerous streets of Belfast and Londonderry. They crisscross the sectarian divide to provide havens of normality and play for alternating loads of Roman Catholic and Protestant three-to-five-year-olds.

Now, for the first time, two of these play buses are being funded by Americans through a new United States charity called, simply, "Ireland's Children."

Vigorously neutral politically

Founded in 1975, the group obtained its tax-exempt status from the U.S. Internal Revenue Service in January last year. All-volunteer and non-sectarian (Catholics, Protestants, and Jews are on its board), the charity is dedicated to helping Ireland's, especially Ulster's, children.



"Politically, we are vigorously neutral; we are advocates only for the children," says George Peabody, a co-founder and vice-president of the new organization.

The play buses are one of several child-oriented projects being supported by Ireland's Children, from play centers to youth clubs both Protestant and Catholic.

"We don't tell them what they need. We respect what they feel is appropriate for their children," comments Catherine McDermott, personnel director of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and another co-founder of Ireland's Children.

"The need is to fund long-term rather than emergency projects," adds Miss McDermott. When she and Dr. Peabody visited Northern Ireland last November, they found that many local church and community leaders expected the province's turmoil to continue for many years. "We'll not see the end of the troubles in our lifetime," said one prominent minister.

According to Miss McDermott and Dr. Peabody, the strain of living in the middle of Northern Ireland's urban guerrilla warfare shows in people of all ages. It has been estimated, they say, that 80 percent of the population are on some form of tranquilizers, and heavy drinking is on the rise — even among some 10-year-olds.

"The people of Northern Ireland are paying a price, and the children are paying an even higher one," the two Americans reported on their return. "They are paying the price of war, of a ghetto, of drinking, or tense parents."

Little Maura is a case in point. Her father, like 1 in 10 of Northern Ireland's labor force, is out of work. To fill his empty hours he and other jobless friends have gotten together to form one of Ulster's many drinking clubs — a move deeply resented by Maura's mother and hardly conducive to stable family life.

Others can't get aboard

So Maura's weekly fun aboard the play bus provides a happy break both for the child herself and for her mother. But other youngsters, like Maura's brother Ian in the 6-to-10-year-old bracket, are too old for the buses and too young for most of the youth clubs.

All too often such children and their older brothers and sisters end up playing on the streets and joining the quick-forming mobs of kids, some of whom get their thrills from drugs or drink, from throwing rocks at soldiers and police, or even signing on with the local paramilitary vigilantes.

Reports from Northern Ireland's Paul Caughey, chair-



By Jill Uris

The children of Belfast get a playschool on wheels

man of the nonsectarian Moderate Young Alliance organization, as saying that people throughout the province are horrified to see more and more young people being turned into "murderers, gangsters, intimidators, and purveyors of sectarian hatred."

As violence, vandalism, and crime have increased, so has school attendance declined — from 90 percent before the "troubles" to about 75 percent now. And family life has been severely disrupted: One estimate puts at 15,000 the number of Belfast families forced to move by intimidation.

To help keep kids out of trouble, Ireland's Children would like to send funds for minibuses to take the children out of their ghettos to special community centers for sports and recreation.

So far, Ireland's Children has collected \$13,000, kept administration costs way below 10 percent of income, and last year dispatched some \$8,000 to selected projects in Northern Ireland, says the organization's secretary, co-founder and homemaker, Anne Fredericks. (Tax-deductible contributions are accepted at: Ireland's Children, Inc., Bronxville, NY 10708.)

Projects supported so far include: annual running costs of two play buses (\$2,200); grants to Catholic and Protestant youth clubs (\$1,500); funds to set up a play center for smaller children (\$1,300); and \$1,000 to buy play equipment, books, games, drinking mugs, puzzles, chairs, crayons, paints, etc.

Progress visit is planned

Dr. Peabody and Miss McDermott intend to go to Northern Ireland again this year. Their aim is to see how their gifts are being used and to seek out future recipients as well as responsible community agencies that could receive funds and monitor their use.

Currently requests for help are screened carefully with the assistance of the Northern Ireland Council of Social Service, the office of the Bishop of Down and Connor, Voluntary Service Belfast, and the Inter-church Emergency Fund office in Belfast.

Faced with the almost overwhelming difficulties of children like Maura and Ian, their parents, and all the other families of Ulster, Ireland's Children is only a small beginning. But it appears to be gathering strength and purpose. And, as Dr. Peabody says:

"So far as I know, we're the only registered charity with a stated priority in our charter for the children of Northern Ireland."

'Kiddle porn': Congress to act

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Congress is looking for a way to combat a boom in what appears to be the nation's newest illicit industry, child pornography.

Lawmakers are being told that the absence of specific federal legislation is permitting the mushrooming of an unsavory commerce that:

- Exploits an estimated one-half million or more children, as young as two or three years old.

- Generates millions of dollars a year through a nationwide production and distribution network, which will just recently was a little-known "cottage industry."

Well over 100 congressmen — one-fourth of the House of Representatives — are pressing for stiff remedial legislation, on which hearings concluded May 25.

The chief sponsor, Rep. Dale E. Kildee (D) of Michigan, compares the legislative crusade to the crackdown on child labor earlier this century. "Just as pernicious as the sweatshops which left physical scars," he says, "are the modern-day conditions which leave psychic scars."

The swift rise of the "kiddle porn" problem — hardly recognized less than a year ago — has local law enforcement officials calling for help from Washington.

The president-elect of the National District Attorneys Association, Genesee County (Michigan) Prosecuting Attorney Robert F. Leonard, told the House crime subcommittee that the challenge is national in scope: "an underground network reaching from New York to California and Michigan to Louisiana."

The "enormous difficulty and expense" faced by local officials in tracking down multi-state offenses, he said, has "clearly illustrated the need for a federal attack on the problem."

Nonetheless, Congress appears uncertain whether new legislation would be preferable to bolstering the enforcement of existing measures. "We frequently rush to pass new federal

laws," says subcommittee chairman John Conyers Jr. (D) of Michigan, "when adequate laws already exist, but are not, for a whole range of reasons, being enforced."

Only one local police department in the nation is known to have mobilized a full-time unit against it, Los Angeles's seven-member Sexually Exploited Child Unit.

Present federal law prohibits shipping obscene materials through interstate commerce, but it is widely agreed that it has failed to control the spread of child pornography.

Proposed new legislation would make the sexual abuse of children, including certain activities, particularly enticing and photographing minors for materials used in interstate commerce, a felony punishable by 20 years in prison or a \$50,000 fine or both.

A second part of the measure is more controversial. It would also make it a felony to ship, receive, or sell through interstate commerce any material that depicts the sexual abuse of a child through photographs or motion pictures.

It raises constitutional qualms among district attorneys and civil libertarians alike.

New York lawyer Heather Grant, Florence, testifying for the American Civil Liberties Union, warned against confusing "two distinct issues — child abuse, which is an unlawful activity, and the dissemination of printed or visual materials, which is constitutionally protected."

"While it is perfectly proper to prosecute those who engage in illegal action," she said, "constitutionally protected speech cannot be the vehicle."

Monitor staff writer Robert M. Press reports from Boston that, as the congressional subcommittee is considering legislation in this area, police in several states continue a crackdown on adults using children in pornographic films and publications.

However, he says, because of the difficulty of proving in courts what is obscene material, often such prosecutions — when based on obscenity laws — are not successful, according to several law enforcement officials contacted.

'We must return Indian land to Indians,' says Commission

By Jonathan Harsch
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

The United States must return to native Americans full rights of "tribal sovereignty," concludes a 1,000-page congressional report.

The report, by the American Indian Policy Review Commission, has stirred up bitter opposition and a direct appeal to President Carter by some ranchers living near Indian lands to postpone taking any action on the report.

The commission's 208 blunt recommendations call for returning full control over Indian lands to Indians, along with the financial, legal, and management support necessary to administer these lands and their valuable resources. Such control is now divided between reservation tribal councils and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

These recommendations echo the landmark — but never enforced — official opinion delivered in 1790 by Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. He ruled that "if a country instead of being vacant, is thinly occupied by another nation, the right of the native forms an exception to that of the newcomers."

Taking very much the same view, the congressional commission, chaired by Sen. James Abourezk (D) of South Dakota, found the American people and government guilty of:

- "Gross neglect" toward the country's "most disadvantaged minority group."

- "Efforts to literally eliminate" the Indian culture and the unique system of tribal government.

Such conclusions are rejected by Rep. Lloyd Meeds (D) of Washington, commission vice-chairman. He labels the report "the product of one-sided advocacy in favor of American Indian tribes."

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Street games easily turn to hurling rocks at troops or police

French/German

Le bon côté des élections d'Israël

par John P. Richardson

Le résultat des élections israéliennes, au lieu de provoquer un recul des espérances de paix au Moyen-Orient peut, en réalité, en accélérer le processus en provoquant une confrontation avec les Etats-Unis plus tôt, que cela n'aurait été le cas si le Parti travailliste avait conservé le pouvoir.

Cette façon de considérer les résultats se fonde sur la thèse qu'à la base « des relations étroites » entre Israël et les Etats-Unis il existe une contradiction majeure axée sur l'avenir de la Rive ouest et de la Bande de Gaza occupées par Israël en 1967. La question qui se pose n'est pas si la contradiction se fera jour mais quand.

La position du Likud au sujet de la Rive ouest et de la Bande de Gaza le met en conflit avec le gouvernement des U.S.A., puisque M. Carter a réaffirmé que les accords en vue d'une paix compréhensive au Moyen-Orient recherchés par l'administration doivent comporter une « patrie » pour les Palestiniens. Le roi Hussein de Jordanie a quitté Washington rassuré par M. Carter sur le fait que la « patrie » des Palestiniens n'a jamais voulu dire la Jordanie à l'est du Jourdain, ce qui ne laisse que les régions occupées de la Rive gauche et la Bande de Gaza comme

portions de la Palestine situées en dehors des frontières d'Israël d'avant 1967.

Le Parti travailliste d'Israël, au pouvoir pendant la totalité des dix années d'occupation, passait pour être modéré aux Etats-Unis, néanmoins il surveilla la construction de plus de 70 colonies juives dans le territoire arabe occupé et prit des dispositions pour que ce chiffre soit plus que doublé dans les années à venir. Les plans les plus conciliants du Parti travailliste pour la Rive gauche et la Bande de Gaza prévoyaient de maintenir le périmètre de défense d'Israël sur le Jourdain, conservant la ville arabe de Jérusalem et la Bande de Gaza, et ne rendant que des régions disséminées dans la Rive ouest dans le contexte de la paix complète.

Une telle ambiguïté entre l'image et la politique n'existe pas dans le cas du Likud, le parti de droite des Israéliens, groupant l'ancien Herut et les Partis libéraux sous la direction de Menahem Begin, un terroriste de la période précédant l'indépendance et depuis longtemps chef de l'opposition dans le Knesset. Depuis son élection, M. Begin s'est donné la peine d'insister sur le fait qu'il considère la Rive ouest et la Bande de Gaza comme faisant historiquement partie

d'Israël, ne pouvant en aucun cas revenir sous la souveraineté arabe. Pour souligner ce point, M. Begin rejette le mot « occupé » en faveur de « libéré ».

La contradiction fondamentale entre la position des gouvernements israéliens et américains est comme une bombe à retardement titillant doucement depuis 1967, et la victoire électorale du Likud du 17 mai peut contribuer à la faire exploser.

Il y a deux considérations cruciales dans le fait de savoir si la contradiction explosera ou non : la première est si le Likud sera à même de former une coalition gouvernementale qui donnera son adhésion à ce point de vue dur, et la seconde est comment le gouvernement américain réagira dans le cas où le Likud pourrait créer une telle coalition. Dans le premier cas il semble maintenant possible que d'autres forces politiques israéliennes de droite soient susceptibles de former une coalition au goût de M. Begin et du Likud.

Dans le second cas, le problème majeur à ce jour pour l'administration quant à révéler un plan de paix pour le Moyen-Orient a été la crainte d'une réaction violente de la part des gens fréquentant les antichambres pour faire pression en faveur

d'Israël et du Congrès contre le fait d'insister pour qu'Israël se retire de la Rive ouest et de la Bande de Gaza comme partie intégrante d'un accord de paix générale dans le Moyen-Orient. Seule une confrontation majeure entre Israël et les U.S.A. peut provoquer un changement dans la prise de conscience du public américain à propos de cette question, et il n'est pas clair que l'administration soit prête à déclencher ce qui serait une lutte intérieure politique meurtrière.

Changer les points de vue des Américains sur Israël sera facilité par le fait que M. Begin est reconnu en toute bonne foi comme un terroriste, ayant été à la tête de l'Irgun Zvai Leumi, une organisation terroriste juive de Palestine d'avant 1948 qui a provoqué la mort de centaines d'officiers britanniques et d'Arabes de Palestine lorsque la Palestine était sous mandat britannique. La nouvelle mise au premier rang de M. Begin en Israël devrait rappeler aux Américains que les peuples choisissent leurs propres représentants - même des terroristes - que cela plaise aux Etats-Unis ou non. Cette prise de conscience devrait augmenter le pragmatisme américain dans sa recherche de la paix au Moyen-Orient.

Israelische Wahlen: ein Silberstreifen am Horizont

Von John P. Richardson

Anstatt die Hoffnungen auf einen Frieden im Nahen Osten zu durchkreuzen, mag das Ergebnis der Wahlen in Israel die Entwicklung sogar beschleunigen, indem es eine Konfrontation mit den Vereinigten Staaten zu einem früheren Zeitpunkt herbeiführt, als wenn die Arbeiterpartei am Ruder geblieben wäre.

Diese Einschätzung des Wahlergebnisses beruht auf der These, daß es unter der Oberfläche des engen, besonderen Verhältnisses zwischen Israel und den Vereinigten Staaten größere gegensätzliche Auffassungen über die Zukunft des Landstrichs am Westufer des Jordans und des Gazastreifens gibt, die Israel 1967 besetzt hatte. Es ist nur noch eine Frage der Zeit, wann dieser Gegensatz offen zutage treten wird.

Die Likud-Partei befindet sich mit ihrem Standpunkt in Bezug auf Westjordanien und den Gazastreifen auf Kollisionskurs mit der US-Regierung, denn Präsident Carter hat wiederholt erklärt, daß zu dem von seiner Administration angestrebten Frieden im Nahen Osten ein „Heimatland“ für die Palästinenser gehöre. König Hussein von Jordanien verließ Washington mit der Zusage, daß die Palästinenser niemals ein Gebiet östlich des Jordans gemeint gewesen sei. Somit kommen nur noch das besetzte Westjordanien und der Gazastreifen als Teile Palästinas

außerhalb der 1967 bestehenden Grenzen Israels in Betracht.

Die israelische Arbeiterpartei, die während der zehnjährigen Besatzungszeit an der Macht gewesen war, galt in den USA als eine mäßige Kraft, obgleich sie den Aufbau von mehr als 70 jüdischen Siedlungen in den besetzten arabischen Gebieten beaufsichtigte und vorhatte, diese Zahl in den nächsten Jahren mehr als zu verdoppeln. Was die Zukunft Westjordanien und des Gazastreifens angeht, so war selbst in den gemäßigten Plänen der Arbeiterpartei vorgesehen, daß die israelischen Verteidigungslinien am Jordan gehalten werden, der arabische Teil von Jerusalem und der Gazastreifen besetzt blieben und nur vereinzelte Gebiete Westjordanien im Rahmen einer allumfassenden Friedensregelung zurückgegeben werden sollten.

Kein solcher Gegensatz zwischen Image und politischer Wirklichkeit besteht im Hinblick auf den rechtgerichteten Likud-Füßler der alten Herutpartei und der Liberalen Partei unter der Führung von Menahem Begin, eines Terroristen aus der Zeit vor der Unabhängigkeit und langjähriger Oppositionsführer in der Knesset. Seit der Wahl betont Begin besonders nachdrücklich, daß er Westjordanien und den Gazastreifen als Teile des historischen Israels betrachte, die unter keinen Umständen

an die Araber zurückgegeben werden dürften. Um dies noch zu unterstreichen, weist er, wenn von diesen Gebieten die Rede ist, den Ausdruck „besetzt“ zurück und gebraucht statt dessen das Wort „befreit“.

Der grundlegende Gegensatz zwischen dem Standpunkt der israelischen Regierung und dem der amerikanischen gleicht einer Zeitbombe, die seit 1967 in aller Stille tickt, und der Sieg der Likud-Partei in den israelischen Wahlen vom 17. Mai könnte dazu beitragen, sie zur Detonation zu bringen.

Ob dieser Gegensatz zu einer Explosion führen wird oder nicht, hängt von zwei kritischen Überlegungen ab: erstens, wird die Likud-Partei eine Koalitionsregierung bilden können, die ihre radikalen Auffassungen gutheißt, und zweitens, wie wird die amerikanische Regierung reagieren, falls die Likud-Partei in der Lage sein sollte, solche eine Koalition einzugehen? Was die erste Frage betrifft, so scheinen jetzt andere rechtgerichtete politische Kräfte in Israel bereit zu sein, eine Koalition nach den Vorstellungen Begin und der Likud-Partei zu bilden.

Ein großes Problem im Hinblick auf die zweite Frage ist bis zum heutigen Tage die Befürchtung der amerikanischen Regierung, es könnte zu heftigem Widerstand seitens

der israelischen Lobby und des Kongresses kommen, wenn sie den Schleier über ihren Plänen für einen Frieden im Nahen Osten lüftet und darauf bestünde, daß die Israelis sich als Teil einer allgemeinen Friedenslösung im Nahen Osten aus Westjordanien und dem Gazastreifen zurückzögen. Nur eine größere Konfrontation zwischen Israel und den USA könnte die Meinung der amerikanischen Öffentlichkeit in dieser Frage ändern. Und es ist nicht sicher, ob die Regierung Carter bereit ist, einen möglicherweise schweren innenpolitischen Konflikt heraufzubeschwören.

Der Wandel im amerikanischen Israel-Bild wird dadurch gefördert, daß Begin erwiesenermaßen als Terrorist tätig gewesen ist. Er war vor 1948 in Palästina Chef der Irgun Zvai Leumi, einer jüdischen Terroristen-Organisation, die für den Tod von Hunderten von Beamten der britischen Mandatsregierung und palästinensischen Arabern verantwortlich war. Daß Begin neuerdings in Israel wieder prominent geworden ist, sollte die Amerikaner daran erinnern, daß jedes Land seine eigenen Repräsentanten wählt - selbst wenn es sich dabei um Terroristen handelt -, ob die Vereinigten Staaten dies mögen oder nicht. Diese Erkenntnis sollte die Amerikaner in ihrem Bemühen um einen Frieden im Nahen Osten pragmatischer werden lassen.

Israeli election's silver lining

By John P. Richardson

The Israeli election results, rather than a setback to hopes for Middle East peace, may actually speed the process through forcing a confrontation with the United States sooner than would have been the case had the Labor Party continued in power.

This view of the results is predicated on the thesis that underlying the close "special relationship" between Israel and the United States is a major contradiction hanging on the future of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, occupied by the Israelis in 1967. The question is when the contradiction surfaces, not if.

The Likud position concerning the West Bank and Gaza Strip puts it on a collision course with the U.S. Government, since Mr. Carter has reiterated that the comprehensive Middle East peace settlement sought by the administration must include a "homeland" for the Palestinians. King Hussein of Jordan left Washington reassured by Mr. Carter that the "homeland" for the Palestinians was never intended to mean Jordan east of the river, which leaves only the occupied West Bank and Gaza

Strip as portions of Palestine outside of pre-1967 Israel itself.

Israel's Labor Party, in power during the full 10 years of occupation, had an image of moderation in the United States yet oversaw the construction of more than 70 Jewish settlements in occupied Arab territory and made plans for more than doubling that number in years to come. The most dovish Labor Party plans for the West Bank and Gaza Strip called for maintaining Israel's defense perimeter at the Jordan River, keeping Arab Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, and giving back only scattered areas in the West Bank in the context of total peace.

No such ambiguity between image and policy exists in the case of Likud, the right-wing Israeli grouping of the old Herut and Liberal parties under the leadership of Menahem Begin, a pre-independence terrorist and long-time opposition leader in the Knesset. Since the election Mr. Begin has gone out of his way to emphasize that he considers the West Bank and Gaza Strip part of historic Israel and not

to be returned to Arab sovereignty under any circumstances. To underscore the point, Mr. Begin rejects the word "occupied" in favor of "liberated."

The basic contradiction between the positions of the Israeli and the American governments has been like a time bomb ticking quietly since 1967, and the Likud victory in the May 17 Israeli elections could help to detonate it.

There are two critical considerations in whether the contradiction will explode or not: the first is whether Likud will be able to form a governing coalition that will endorse its hard-line views, and the second is how the American government responds in the event that Likud is able to create such a coalition. On the first point, it now appears possible that other right-wing Israeli political forces will be amenable to forming a coalition to the liking of Mr. Begin and Likud.

On the second point, a major problem to date for the administration in unveiling a

Middle East peace plan has been fear of a violent reaction by the Israel lobby and Congress against insistence on Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip as part of an overall Middle East peace settlement. Only a major confrontation between Israel and the U.S. can bring about change in American public perception of the issue, and it is not clear if the administration is ready to set in motion what would be a bruising domestic political fight.

Changing American perceptions of Israel will be assisted by the fact that Mr. Begin has bona fide terrorist credentials, having headed the Irgun Zvai Leumi, a Jewish terrorist organization in pre-1948 Palestine that caused the deaths of hundreds of British Mandate officials and Palestinian Arabs. Mr. Begin's new prominence in Israel should remind Americans that people choose their own representatives - even terrorists - whether the United States likes it or not. This awareness should increase American pragmatism in its search for peace in the Middle East.

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
(une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

Il est plus facile de réussir

Il est plus facile de réussir que d'échouer.

Bien des gens pourraient protester contre cette déclaration et dire : « Des efforts sont nécessaires pour réussir, et renoncer est d'habitude le moyen facile de se tirer d'une situation tendue. »

Les enseignements de la Science Chrétienne nous montrent que l'homme, qui réfléchit effectivement Dieu, ne peut échouer. Pourquoi ? Parce que Dieu est le bien, la source de toute intelligence. Et parce que l'homme est Son expression spirituelle, l'homme est également bon, également intelligent; il est déjà une « réussite ».

Au cours de notre existence quotidienne, cependant, nous nous apercevons que pour résister à toutes les suggestions négatives d'insuccès qui nous empêcheraient de réussir dans une entreprise honorable, et les nôtres, il est nécessaire de faire des efforts et de faire preuve de bonne volonté. Quelques-uns des arguments les plus te-

naces du point de vue des sens matériels sont les croyances à l'âge, à l'hérédité, à une nature imparfaite qui se dit la nôtre.

En prenant ces arguments un par un, nous découvrons que notre véritable identité reflète Dieu, le bien divin, et qu'elle est spirituelle, exprimant la Vie divine qui révèle continuellement l'intelligence, la bonté, et la beauté divines. Les facultés de Dieu sont éternelles. La nature divine n'a rien à voir avec le rêve erroné de l'existence matérielle, sa détérioration et ses limitations. Notre être véritable, l'enfant bien-aimé de Dieu, n'est ni jeune ni vieux. Nous n'avons donc jamais à nous considérer trop âgés pour changer de carrière, trop inflexibles pour apprendre de nouvelles façons de faire les choses - ou des façons de faire de nouvelles choses.

Puisqu'il n'y a qu'une seule cause et qu'un seul créateur, l'homme spirituel, véritable que Dieu a créé hérite la beauté, la perfection, la joie, l'utilité, l'intelligence. Nous ne pouvons avoir aucune nature séparée de Dieu. Nous pouvons trouver la

force, l'énergie, la stabilité - tout ce qui est nécessaire pour réussir - à mesure que nous croissons en compréhension spirituelle.

Christ Jésus nous a donné la clef de la réussite en guérissant et en supprimant la pénurie et la tentation. Il dit : « Ne crois-tu pas que je suis dans le Père, et que le Père est en moi ? Les paroles que je vous dis, je ne les dis pas de moi-même; et le Père qui demeure en moi, c'est lui qui fait les œuvres. »

Notre Père, que nous réfléchissons dans notre être réel, Lui aussi « fait les œuvres ». L'erreur et les croyances matérielles erronées n'existent pas, car elles ne peuvent exister en Dieu. En Lui nous avons la santé, la pureté, le bonheur.

Nous pouvons nous réjouir dans le fait que quelque nombreuses que soient les déceptions et les lutes, nous pouvons réussir. La réponse réside déjà dans le Principe divin, l'Amour. Bien que la lutte semble parfois prendre des proportions monumentales, nous pouvons réussir si

nous pouvons fixer nos regards sur des buts spirituels plutôt que matériels. Mary Baker Eddy, qui a découvert et fondé la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « Les mortels doivent porter leurs regards au delà des formes finies et évanescences, s'ils veulent trouver le vrai sens des choses. Où les regards s'attachent-ils, sinon au royaume insoufflant de l'Entendement ? Nous devons porter nos regards là où nous voudrions diriger nos pas, et agir comme possédant tout pouvoir de Celui en qui nous avons notre être. »

Jean 14:10; « Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures », p. 284.

« Christian Science » (tristram) annonce
La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures », de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec le texte anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



By Peter Malin, staff photographer

Dovetailing conversation

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinender religiöser Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Es ist leichter, erfolgreich zu sein

Es ist leichter, Erfolg zu haben, als zu versagen.

Viele mögen gegen diese Erklärung einwenden: „Es kostet Mühe, unser Ziel zu erreichen, und aufzugeben ist gewöhnlich der bequeme Ausweg aus einer schwierigen Situation.“

Die Lehren der Christlichen Wissenschaft zeigen uns, daß der Mensch, der ein göttlich Gut widerspiegelt, nicht versagen kann. Warum? Weil Gott gut ist, der Ursprung aller Intelligenz. Und weil der Mensch der geistliche Ausdruck Gottes ist, ist er ebenfalls gut, ebenfalls intelligent und schon jetzt erfolgreich.

Im täglichen Leben stellen wir jedoch fest, daß wir uns tatsächlich oft Mühe geben und bereit sein müssen, all den negativen Suggestionen von Mißerfolg, die uns davon abhalten möchten, bei einem lohnenden Vorhaben Erfolg zu haben, Widerstand zu leisten und sie zu verneinen. Eines der heftigsten Argumente der Materialisten gegen die Christliche Wissenschaft ist, daß wir uns nicht auf die Materie ausrichten können. Wir können nicht von Gott getrennt sein, wir können nicht von Gott getrennt sein, wir können nicht von Gott getrennt sein, wir können nicht von Gott getrennt sein.

Wenn wir uns diese Argumente eins nach dem anderen vornehmen, werden wir feststellen, daß unser wahres Selbst Gott, das göttliche Gute, widerspiegelt; gelübt ist und das göttliche Leben zum Ausdruck bringt, das unaufhörlich göttliche Intelligenz, Güte und Schönheit bekundet. Gottes Fähigkeiten sind ewig. Das göttliche Wesen hat nichts mit dem falschen Traum von einem materiellen Dasein und dessen Verfallserscheinungen und Begrenzungen zu tun. In unserem wahren Sein als das geliebte Kind Gottes sind wir weder jung noch alt. Wir sollten deshalb niemals glauben, wir seien zu alt, um unseren Beruf zu wechseln, zu unbeweglich, um neue Wege zu lernen, wie wir etwas können - oder zu lernen, wie wir etwas Neues tun können.

Da es nur eine Ursache und nur einen Schöpfer gibt, sind Schönheit, Vollkommenheit, Freude, Nützlichkeit und Intelligenz das Erbe des von Gott geschafften, wahren, geistigen Menschen. Wir können nicht von Gott getrennt sein, wir können nicht von Gott getrennt sein, wir können nicht von Gott getrennt sein, wir können nicht von Gott getrennt sein.

Wir können uns freuen, daß wir Erfolg haben könnten, ganz gleich, wie viele Niederlagen und Kämpfe wir durchstehen müssen. Die Lösung kann schon jetzt im göttlichen Prinzip, Liebe, gefunden werden. Wenn auch der Kampf zuweilen gewaltig zu sein scheint, können wir doch erfolgreich sein, wenn wir unseren Blick auf

geistige anstatt auf materielle Ziele richten. Mary Baker Eddy, die die Christliche Wissenschaft entdeckte und gründete, schreibt: „Die Sterblichen müssen über die vergänglichen, endlichen Formen hinausblicken, wenn sie den wahren Sinn der Dinge erlangen wollen. Wo anders kann der Blick ruhen als in dem unerforschlichen Reich des Gemüts? Wir müssen dorthin schauen, wo wir hinwandeln möchten, und wir müssen handeln wie einer, der alle Macht von Ihm besitzt, in dem wir unser Sein haben.“

Christus Jesus gab uns in seinen Heilungen und in der Zurückweisung von Mangel und Versuchung den Schlüssel zum Erfolg. Er sagte: „Glaubst du nicht, daß ich im Vater und der Vater in mir ist? Die Worte, die ich zu euch rede, die rede ich nicht von mir selbst. Der Vater aber, der in mir wohnt, der tut seine Werke.“

Unser himmlischer Vater, den wir in unserem wirklichen Sein widerspiegeln, „tut seine Werke“. Es gibt keinen Irrtum und keine falschen materiellen Annahmen, denn sie können nicht in Gott bestehen. In Ihm spiegeln wir Gesundheit, Reinheit und Glück wider.

Wir können uns freuen, daß wir Erfolg haben könnten, ganz gleich, wie viele Niederlagen und Kämpfe wir durchstehen müssen. Die Lösung kann schon jetzt im göttlichen Prinzip, Liebe, gefunden werden. Wenn auch der Kampf zuweilen gewaltig zu sein scheint, können wir doch erfolgreich sein, wenn wir unseren Blick auf

Johannes 14:10; « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift », S. 164.

« Christian Science » (tristram) annonce
Die deutsche Übersetzung der Lehrreihe der Christlichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“, von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite gedruckt. Das Buch kann in den Lesesalons der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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'La Dama del Elche' 5th century B.C.: Sculpture, artist unknown

Courtesy of The Prado Museum, Madrid

An unexpected lesson

As an undergraduate, I spent part of a year at the University of Madrid where each Thursday for three months I sat in a small, stuffy room with thirty other people, all of us trying, with varying degrees of success, to stare off after-lunch drowsiness while attempting to appreciate the minute details of pre-Christian Spanish art.

This campaign in esoteric aesthetics was waged by a small, retiring professor who presented the slender array of Iberian artifacts with such immaculate diffidence that one often had to ask whether it was the subject itself which conspired to make everything boring or the thirty-five years of commenting upon it which had worn interest as thin as the endless slides we watched.

This learned man's academic ennui pre-empted our own. Although he had a thirty-five year head start, we, as fast learners, were quickly catching up. His boredom was commensurate with our potential for it.

Secretly, this distinguished art historian was confirming our deepest and most acute fears, not about art but the study of art. All slides of still-lives, we feared, lead to still-life lives. Years of silently cataloging terracotta vases in museum backrooms could only result in cataloging our responses to them: predictably, silently, terminally.

In time, we, too, would wear crepe-soled shoes, sport flesh-colored framed glasses and avoid wearing any trace of scent. In time, our unyielding love of art would befall the worst but most predictable of fates — art would become reasonable and explicable. And we would sedately, but with all the learned assurance in the world, instruct our students out of any impetuous and inelegant enthusiasm with our cataloged knowledge.

So we sat, all thirty of us one autumn in Madrid, learning how to unlearn our primary responses, learning how to regard intuition as "unscientific." In this dark room our even darker fears were scorched by the ghostly light refracted from the slides, which as if by conscious directorial hand, stamped upon our faces those images which we would learn to muse with flattened expertise. In our most genteel and scholarly way, we were learning how to mystify. We were learning how to separate our art experience from others because we supposedly knew more.

This professor's consistent ability to avoid stimulating subjects amounted to a technical virtuosity. Anything of the remotest interest became known as "a peripheral impression." So we avoided exploring the genesis of Greek civilization, the spark of its creative genius, concentrating instead on a rigorous fraction of its monetary system's effect on Roman vase production.

Occasionally, a breeze would blow open the bookshelves, etching diagonal rays of light into the dark. From the crevice of light I could see the light stirring; people engaged in simple social activities. I began to feel like some lost Iberian craftsman longing to be released from a wider view. I felt as I imagined the Greek ships sailing in the bay to North Africa: life, unexplored yet recognizable, etched him.

It is in this tedious lecture series, sometimes happening which changed my entire way of looking at art, something the memory of which to this day continues to release me.

One day, after innumerable slides of Phoenician-influenced statuettes, mosaics and fragments of vases, there flashed across the screen one of the most glorious sculptural statements I had ever seen. Of all works of art, this would be the one which would continue to move me in ways still unaccountable: the Dama del Elche.

This Fifth Century B.C. Iberian princess is a paradox in Iberian art. Although she clearly bears Hellenic influences, she is undeniably the product of her own struggling culture. All that remains stylized about her is her elaborate diadem with its wheel-shaped ornaments which delicately serve to balance her face. Here, the idealized art form is secondary. Instead we have the princess herself, a woman, who like the stone, seems to breathe.

As I sat spellbound, I understood how Jules and Jim in Truffaut's film bearing their names as its title felt as they sat transfixed over a slide of a Sicilian stone sculpture. By this most concrete image of beauty, of woman, they were released into seeking its human counterpart, who, ironically, proved more elusive, more enigmatic than the smile fixed on the stone lips.

For me, the Dama del Elche was my stone symbol. Like all symbols, it moves into the realm of the universal while underlining all living form. Here, life's forces — movement, expressiveness, emotion — are musically generated.

For the first time I truly understood what Plato meant when he postulated that all beauty, and the capacities for appreciating it, already exist within us. This natural correspondence of external form and internal feeling, the heart of all art experiences, was what I was experiencing as I sat, listening to my professor explain that it is from this statue we derive all our information about Iberian jewelry.

My expression must have disclosed to my professor that I had not learned my lessons well. I showed what I felt and for the first time my professor registered an expression I was never to see again: astonishment hardening into regret. Clearly to this man I was not art historian material. Despite my record, I would never make a great scholar. I was merely one of those endlessly promising but always disappointing students, mostly women, lost to pedagogic understanding.

In time, I returned to America where I studied Russian history as a discipline. Drawn, as no doubt my professor would conclude, by that nation's overly emotional history. But I majored in what I liked and saved what I loved for the life which continued independently before, during and after my degrees. All that was important to me, or so I felt, needed to be protected from not analyzing what one could barely understand emotionally. Footnote: fatigue had wearied me of so many other subjects.

I never stopped my study or appreciation of art history. Indeed, my appreciation of art has grown in unpredictable ways, and, unlike the history I had come to know so well, it continues to astonish me. Like love, there are constant yet unexpected circuits showing me how very little I know and how very much there is to be released if only I could forget the little I know.

Alexandra Johnson

The Monitor's religious article

It's easier to succeed

It's easier to succeed than fail. Many might protest this statement, saying, "It takes effort to succeed and giving up is usually the easy way out of a strenuous situation."

The teachings of Christian Science show us that man, who actually reflects God, can't fail. Why? Because God is good, the source of all intelligence. And because man is His spiritual expression, man is also good, also intelligent, already a "success."

In our everyday lives, though, we find that it often does take effort and a willingness to resist and deny all the negative suggestions of failure that would keep us from succeeding in a worthy endeavor. Some of the most insistent arguments from the matter-oriented senses are beliefs of age, heredity, a faulty nature labeled as our own.

Taking these arguments one by one, we'll find that our real selfhood reflects God, divine good, and is spiritual, expressing the divine Life that is continually revealing divine intelligence, goodness, and beauty. God's faculties are eternal. The divine nature has nothing to do with the false dream of material existence and its deterioration and limitations. As God's beloved child, our real being is neither young nor old. So we need never think ourselves too old to change careers, too inflexible to learn new ways of doing things — or ways of doing new things.

Because there is only one cause and creator, the true, spiritual man of God's making inherits beauty, perfection, joy, usefulness, intelligence. We can have no nature separate from God. We can find strength, energy, stability — all the things needed for success — as we grow in spiritual understanding.

Christ Jesus showed us the answer to success in his healings and in his putting down of want and temptation. He said, "Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works."

Our Father, whom we reflect in our real being, also "doeth the works." Error and false material beliefs do not exist, for they

cannot exist in God. In Him we reflect health, purity, happiness.

We can rejoice that no matter how many upsets and struggles there are, we can succeed. The answer is already in divine Principle, Love. Though the struggle may seem, at times, to assume monumental proportions, we can succeed if we can set our sights on spiritual rather than material goals. Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered and founded Christian Science, writes: "Mortals must look beyond fading, finite forms, if they would gain the true sense of things. Where shall the gaze rest but in the unsearchable realm of Mind? We must look where we would walk, and we must act as possessing all power from Him in whom we have our being."*

*John 14:10; **Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 284.

Within the closeness of God's family

To feel a natural warmth and affection for all our brothers and sisters as children of God is to be drawn within the encircling love of our divine Parent. The Bible speaks of this bond of universal brotherhood and assures us that we are all the sons and daughters of God. It tells us that God can help us in every circumstance.

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Shadows

Who speaks of shadows
Of darkness and light
Of experience,
But I have watched
Shadows
Dancing along the leaves
Of the sycamore
Like playful children;
I have seen them
Moving slowly, lengthening,
Resting
Upon the grass beneath —
Tranquil — beautiful.

And it came to me,
Without the light
Shadows could not be.

Mildred M. Hoyer

OPINION AND...

Joseph C. Harsch

Israel and peace

The conventional wisdom of the moment holds that chances for peace in the Middle East have dropped sharply because the voters of Israel have turned out of office their long-dominant Labor Party and given the advantage in votes, and in seats in the Knesset, to the national Likud bloc.

This seems to me to be a superficial reading of the situation.

Yes, it is true that the leader of the Likud bloc, Menachem Begin, is himself a hard-line nationalist who opposes the surrender of any of the Arab territories occupied since the 1967 war. On the record he favors the planting of new settlements of Israelis in the occupied territories of the West Bank.

But the Likud is not strong enough to form a government by itself. It received only a third of the 2.2 million votes cast in the election. It will have trouble enough just organizing a coalition majority of 61 votes in the 120-member Knesset. The voting pattern showed more of a falling away of votes from Labor than of a swing of votes to Likud. There was no provable mandate for a policy of intransigence.

More importantly, Mr. Begin is better qualified than any leader of the Labor Party could possibly be to make territorial concessions if and when the time comes when they will have to be made. Since he has always been opposed

to such concessions no man can accuse him of wanting to make them, or of giving away more land than is absolutely necessary. Just as Richard Nixon could go to Peking because he had always run as an anticommunist so Mr. Begin could, someday, go to Cairo or Damascus because he has always been anti-Arab.

The time is coming inevitably when territorial concessions will have to be made for the simple reason that the Arabs can sustain an indefinite number of wars against Israel, and Israel cannot. The Arabs have already lost four wars against Israel, but grown in wealth and strength and modernity throughout the process. If there is no settlement, indeed, if Mr. Begin insists on a policy of no concessions, then there will be still another Arab-Israeli war. Israel would probably win it. Israel is today stronger in weapons vis-à-vis the Arabs than ever before. Israel was heavily resupplied with the latest and best American weapons after the 1973 war. None of the Arab countries has been resupplied to anything like the same extent.

But the Arabs can afford to lose wars against Israel and plan more. Israel's situation is such that it has to win to survive. It can only lose once. And how many times can Israel go on fighting even winning wars? Israel's economy is stretched so tight, even with more gen-

erous American aid than Washington gives to anyone else, that people are literally leaving Israel to find relief from the tension and strain. Israel now suffers from a net emigration. Russian Jews increasingly seek settlement elsewhere than in Israel.

The essential fact about the situation in the Middle East is that Israel simply cannot go on much longer in a siege condition surrounded by hostile Arabs. Even the mighty United States cannot afford indefinitely to support Israel in this condition and certainly not if there is a better condition to be had.

Mr. Carter believes that a better condition is now available. He has talked with the Presidents of Egypt and Syria and with the King of Jordan. He is convinced that all three are ready and willing to end their war with Israel on the basis of acceptance of the existence of the state of Israel. The willingness of the important Arab countries to make peace with Israel is now credible. The President of the United States is convinced that they are sincere in their readiness for peace and in their willingness to enter into a true peace with Israel.

In the past Israel has always professed a desire for peace but was never put to the test. The Arab policy of nonrecognition of Israel made it possible for the Israelis to say that the

Arabs made peace impossible, hence Israel had no choice but to persist in the capability of winning wars.

But now it is different. The Arab interest in peace and the Arab willingness to come to a peaceable terms with Israel is certainly convincing to Mr. Carter. The Palestine Liberation Organization is still outside of the equation. Their leaders still proclaim a policy of destroying Israel. But the other Arabs who are in the course of negotiation even the PLO would come around to a new policy of being willing to live with Israel.

At this stage of events is a Prime Minister Israel going to go to the bargaining table and refuse to negotiate over territory even if the Prime Minister is the leader of the Likud? Israel going to be seen to be unwilling to move toward peace when the Arabs are perceived by the United States and by virtually the entire world to be ready for peace?

The answer is that so long as the Arab readiness to move toward peace is credible, even Menachem Begin would have to be willing to meet with them and bargain with them on any terms which he would accept would be acceptable to an overwhelming majority of the people of Israel. In other words, peace may not be as far off as Mr. Begin's past rhetoric would indicate.

Once upon the '60s

Melvin Maddocks

To some of us the '60s are "only yesterday" — the still-fresh decade in a memory bank that doesn't even program nostalgia until it gets back to the '50s. Make that the '40s. On the other hand, to those who were in their student days and are now in their 30s the '60s stand nearly half a lifetime away.

And so a sort of "When-you-and-I-were-young-in-the-'60s" school of memoir-writing has sprung up. Everything else is done prematurely these days. Why not autobiography? — especially when it promises to turn its misty-eyed authors into millionaires in blue jeans. For example, Sara Davidson's "Loose Change: Three Women of the Sixties." This Berkeley-and-after version of "The Group" worked its way up to the golden neighborhood of half a million dollars in paperback and film rights, even before publication.

Loose change indeed! Also, in these retrospectives of the '60s certain strange alchemies occur: We have, in the first place, fairly formidable young people as they were for better and for worse in history: marching at Selma — and experimenting with every drug that flew; protesting against napalm — and setting back education 10 years by their demands for "relevance." It is a record that deserves sorting out.

But complexity is not what these precocious autobiographers appear interested in. Ten years later, as children of affluence now come to their own affluence,

the '60s chroniclers are as beguiled by their younger selves as the fondest parents leafing through an old family album. When they get down to putting the whole business on paper, they recall their first joint as sentimentally as Proust recalled his madeleine and lime tea — indiscriminately seeing it all as Lost Innocence. Stylistically the results can read like a bizarre mixture of "confessional" journalism and the adventures of Nancy Drew that goes something like this:

"1964. The times they were a-changin', as Bob Dylan was about to say. 'Up against the wall, everybody!' — that was the mood. What yummy excitement as you tossed your brick through the nearest Bank of America window. When I think of the '60s, I think of Beatles songs everywhere — happy songs that made you skip and whistle through the old wrecked quadrangle at 3 o'clock in the morning, like 'I Want to Hold Your Hand.'"

"Abdu wanted to hold my hand. Abdu was Nigerian; and my mother lost control when I told her about him over the phone, long distance. Collect. She screamed across 2,173 miles: 'Is this what your father and I scraped and saved to send you to college for, baby?'"

"I hung up. Not long after I hung up on Abdu. "It was wonderful to be young, and there was Jere-

miah. When he was being serious, Jeremiah had a way of crossing his eyes that really turned me on. Jeremiah was serious all the time. He carried a legal pad with him on which he was working out a plot to assassinate both his senators. Simultaneously, Jeremiah taught me about commitment. The word came out like a diamond on black velvet when he pronounced it.

"Jeremiah took me to my very first demonstration. Somebody stuck a sign in my hands, and we all marched. I think my sign read: 'Lyndon Johnson murders children.' But it didn't matter. It was all about freedom, that was the thing, and my roommates, Felicia and Deirdre, understood this too.

"But Deirdre less than Felicia, because Jeremiah had been Deirdre's friend before he became mine. Why is it some people can talk about freedom but not live it?"

"In the long spring afternoons near the end of term we'd sit around a cafe called the Sad Ballad and talk about going to India or Marrakesh or maybe Turkey, and I used to write really terrific Halkus on paper napkins. I wish I'd saved them. They were purple.

"Weren't we all so innocent in those days? My old roommate Deirdre still won't speak to me. But Felicia is on her third marriage, to a really promising stockbroker who made \$80,000 even in the bad year of 1976, and we try to keep up. We were saying just the other day that if we ever had children — big if! — we want them to be just the way we were."

Readers write

Human rights, the British system, Cuba embargo

The weekly international edition of The Christian Science Monitor, May 16th, carries two letters on the question of human rights. The first by E. Monnet expresses the view that President Carter's stand with regard to Soviet violations is "hypocritical," considering other ugly cases in this field throughout the world. The second by James Chih-yuan Tsao commends President Carter's approach to the Soviet Union.

Both these letters, like so many articles written on this subject, seem to bypass an essential point:

While it is evident that human rights are indeed shockingly violated in many countries, it is no less true that the Soviet Union did recently sign the Helsinki agreements, solemnly and specifically committing itself to respect the free circulation of men and ideas. However, since signing this clause, no attempt has been made to put it into effect. What, therefore, would be the point in holding the follow-up meeting in Belgrade (next June) if documents signed are in fact mere scraps of paper?

Apart from the general principle of human rights, as such, President Carter's insistence in this particular instance, is that agreements concluded should be respected, as in any business transactions.

Whereas the U.S.S.R. protests against interference in its internal affairs, it did, after all, sign the Helsinki agreement. If it did not mean to honor it, this can indeed be termed "hypocritical" rather than President Carter's justified demands for the application of decisions formally reached.

Paris

Nixon in the Lords?

Joseph Harsch's article in the May 17 Monitor entitled "Why the British save their Queen," is, to me, an Englishman, almost totally acceptable. I say "almost" because there appears one statement which I can regard only with some reserve and that is — "Under the British system Richard Nixon would today be an elder statesman in the Lords — not an exile in San Clemente."

I very much doubt that anyone who had

committed such a misdemeanor as Mr. Nixon is alleged to have done would be allowed to "get away with it" and then be elevated to a seat in the Lords.

In Britain, I am sure, there would have been a thorough judicial inquiry and the correct and appropriate action taken in accordance with the laws of the land.

Rockport, Mass.

Harry Garside

End the Cuba embargo

The Cuban Group for Family Reunification advocates lifting the U.S. embargo against Cuba as the first step toward diplomatic and commercial relations between United States and Cuba.

Our group pursues family reunification. In the U.S. there are several thousands of divided Cuban families hoping that better relations between two countries will bring family reunification. We consider that the U.S. embargo against Cuba, aimed at overthrowing Castro, has only imposed hardships and sufferings on the Cuban population.

Latin American countries, at the beginning, backed the embargo, but today few do it. The

majority have established diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba, leaving the United States in an isolated position.

European countries, Canada, and Japan have never considered an embargo of Cuba, and for years have been enjoying a half-billion-dollar market, without any competition from the United States.

If the U.S. maintains "cordial relations with Russia and China, as well as all kind of representative regimes, we don't see any reason not to talk with Cuba.

We believe the way to find a solution to all the differences between the U.S. and Cuba is to lift the embargo and to start negotiations in Miami.

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course, we cannot answer every one, and only are condensed before publication, but those full comments are welcome. Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International Edition, One Norwood Street, Boston, MA 02115.

COMMENTARY

Weak U.S. call against arms sales

By Pat M. Holt

The Carter administration's long-awaited policy statement on American arms sales abroad is one of the thinnest collections of guidelines to come out of the White House in a long time.

Candidate Carter campaigned against these sales, which may amount to as much as \$14 billion this year, on the grounds that they were indiscriminately scattering American weapons around the world.

But what President Carter's policy boils down to is that henceforth the burden of proof is to be put on those seeking to justify a sale instead of on those opposing it. And somehow the dollar volume of sales next year is going to be less than this year.

The substance of both of these points is in the Arms Export Control Act already, but the law is loosely written and hasn't really worked. Maybe the Carter administration, somewhat more skeptical than its predecessors of the virtues of arms sales, will make it work. That remains to be seen.

In its specifics, such as they are, the Carter policy (which rightly exempts NATO, Israel, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand) consists of a list of things the U.S. is not going to do any more:

• It is not going to be the first to introduce new, advanced weapons into a region. This

leaves room to sell to Country A if neighbor Country B has already got such weapons from somebody else.

• It is not going to develop advanced weapons solely for export. The most important such weapon, the F-5 aircraft, was developed on congressional initiative after the Air Force said it did not want the plane. Maybe there's a new mood in Congress now and this won't happen again — unless it would provide jobs and contracts in somebody's congressional district.

• It is not going to enter coproduction agreements with foreign governments for significant weapons — except in NATO, Israel, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, which are just about the only countries with the industrial base for coproduction anyway.

• It is not going to consider requests from purchasing countries to transfer U.S.-sold arms to third countries. Or, as the White House statement put it, the U.S. "may stipulate" that it will not consider such requests. Why not simply prohibit all transfers to third countries as a condition of sale and, more importantly, as a condition of future sales?

• It is not going to promote the sale of arms through embassies and military representatives abroad, and private weapons dealers and agents will work under tighter restrictions.

Malaysia's durable insurgents

By John M. Taylor

In 1960 Great Britain, which had conducted a 12-year war against Communist terrorists in present-day Malaysia, declared the emergency there at an end. As it did so, London prepared to grant full independence to its rubber-rich colony, which planned to unite with Singapore and North Borneo to form the Federation of Malaysia.

Both then and later, Britain's suppression of the Malaysian Communist Party insurgency was considered something of a classic in counter-terrorist technique. From an estimated peak of around 4,000 main-force guerrillas, casualties and defections had reduced the terrorists to some 400 hard-core Communists, and these had been contained in areas away from the main population centers.

As the American commitment in Vietnam increased, the lessons of Malaysia came in for close scrutiny in Washington. There was, however, no close correlation between the two insurgencies. In Malaysia, for instance, there had been no "friendly" border to cross for recruits, or from which to receive supplies and reinforcements. Even more important, almost all the Malaysian terrorists were ethnic Chinese, a minority group long viewed with suspicion by the majority Malays. In Malaysia, unlike Vietnam, the Communist "fish" swam in

But what of the surviving guerrillas? For all their misfortunes, they retained as their leader one of the more unusual of communism's Asian champions. Chin Peng was only 26 when he assumed the leadership of the Malaysian Communist Party in 1947. He had been active in anti-Japanese partisan activities during the war, and had been warmly received in London on a visit there after the war.

Chin Peng manifested little of the taciturnity associated with Communist leaders such as Mao Tse-tung, Kim Il Sung, and Ho Chi Minh. Those who dealt with him were uniformly impressed with his intelligence and charm. But when a series of strikes in postwar Malaysia failed to overthrow British rule, Chin Peng took his party underground and initiated a campaign of terrorist insurgency. Communist forces achieved their greatest success in 1951, when they ambushed and killed the British High Commissioner in his motorcade.

In the end, the British Army's clear-and-hold methods, supported by a promise of independence for Malaysia, undercut the insurgents and forced Chin Peng and his remaining followers into a jungle sanctuary along the Thai border. In 1955, there were truce talks in the village of Baling. Premier-designate Abdul Tunku Rahman, accompanied by Singapore's Chief Minister David Marshall, offered am-

nesty to those guerrillas willing to take an oath of loyalty to the government.

The negotiations were free of polemics and surprisingly cordial. Chin Peng spoke with respect of the Tunku's having secured the promise of complete independence for Malaysia. Marshall, now a prominent Singapore attorney, still remembers his surprise at the insurgent leader's "gentle" manner and at his appearance, which betrayed no sign of his precarious existence in the jungle. But after several days the negotiations foundered over the question of whether the MCP would be permitted to operate as a legal party. This was one area in which the government was not prepared to make concessions.

Chin Peng returned to the jungle, and has not publicly emerged since. He and his comrades watched helplessly as one district after another was declared "white," i.e., cleared of terrorists. As time went on, the worldwide cleavage of communist parties into Moscow and Peking factions sowed dissension among Chin Peng's remaining cadres, and there were unconfirmed stories of trials and purges.

But the MCP survived, and in the 1970s even began to pick up a few adherents. Communist triumphs in Vietnam and Cambodia provided a major psychological lift, as did the stepped-up activity of Communist insurgents in Thailand. In the fall of 1975, in a raid that embarrassed

Malaysian authorities, an MCP force blew up the monument in Kuala Lumpur commemorating the suppression of Chin Peng's insurgency.

Is Chin Peng's star once again in the ascendant? Knowledgeable observers in Kuala Lumpur say no. While conceding that the Malaysian Communist Party may now include as many as 3,000 guerrillas, they maintain that Chin Peng still lacks the popular support necessary to any real resurgence. They insist, in fact, that MCP forces must spend most of their time on the Thai side of Malaysia's northern border to avoid capture. Malaysia's economic prosperity, too, is seen as an obstacle to further Communist inroads.

The government, however, is taking no chances. In March it signed a new border treaty with Thailand, one which permits the security forces of either country to cross the border in "hot pursuit" of guerrilla forces. Whatever the outcome, Chin Peng and his cadres are one more reminder of the dedication that communism is capable of inspiring in its adherents.

Five, weapons ought not to be sold to help the balance of payments, to reduce unit costs to U.S. forces, to support the U.S. arms industry, or to maintain employment.

This last is the crux of the matter. It raises the question of whether the United States can maintain an acceptable level of economic activity without a large armaments industry producing for export as well as for U.S. forces. But this is a question which is larger than arms sales and which has to be addressed in that larger context.

Mr. Holt, former chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is a free-lance writer on public affairs.

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Mr. Taylor is the author of several books on Asian and American politics.

Young's impact on Africa — and vice versa

By June Goodwin

Khartoum, Sudan
Ask the little man, the man behind the scenes — he can tell you what world leaders really think.

A security guard for United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young says that Mr. Young is "not a man of the world." "Can you imagine a man saying 'Call me Hank?'" the guard says.

The impact of the personality of this diplomat on United States foreign policy is a vital element of that policy — especially in Africa. This reporter could find no one on Mr. Young's trip who did not say that he was the most common word used to describe him.

African often ask whether the U.S. Government is really behind Mr. Young. But there is no doubt in this reporter's mind after watching him for 10 days during his

journey that he represents power. In South Africa he warned the ruling white Afrikaners that President Carter is himself an Afrikaner, hard-nosed and stubborn, when it comes to eliminating racism.

Throughout Africa Ambassador Young's main message was that he was selling the economic might of the West. "Even the Russians want our technology," he said.

He warned white South Africans that the West could turn away from them for economic reasons alone — U.S. investment in Nigeria now is around \$3 billion compared to about \$2 billion for South Africa.

Andy Young has become the human face of capitalism. "But there are sharks in those [African] waters," said one American journalist based in Africa. "Almost imperceptibly during the two-week trip Ambassador Young, by listening to many Africans on their home turf, returned with an increasing awareness of the complexities in this continent that is more than three times the size of the United States."

Toward the end of the trip Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda remarked that Mr. Young was being unusually cautious in talking to reporters in Lusaka. "I'm learning," Mr. Young replied.

The night before, after a long, hard day in South Africa, Ambassador Young was asked to go before Zambian University students, many of them extremely critical of the U.S., to answer questions. He handled the students like a master, defusing confrontations with humor and being tough at times with strong effect.

Mr. Young's style is reminiscent of civil-rights leader Martin Luther King, say those who have known both men. He seems able to relate well to all kinds of people. He said: In South Africa that he saw clearly the pervasive fear in the whites. It is difficult for people to be logical when gripped by fear, he said.

The impact of Ambassador Young on Africa is likely to be strong, providing his words to support black majority rule in southern Africa are reinforced by some kind of specific action

in the next six months or so.

The increasingly helpless position of Britain has become clear with Ambassador Young's trip. Many Africans say that if anything can be done to prevent great bloodshed in southern Africa it will have to be done in fact by the United States, not by Britain.

Andrew Young is very much of the black American middle class. And yet he is also of Africa.

This mix contributed to a strong emotional overtone in southern Africa when the Ambassador was there. For an emotional parallelism between the U.S. and South Africa, simply cannot be denied, however different the situations. The U.S. does have this tie with Africa — which the Soviet Union will never have — and this is a unique leverage which Mr. Young is exploiting, not cautiously, but because he himself feels deeply about the issue.

June Goodwin is the Monitor's correspondent in Africa.